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The revival of pastel in late nineteenth-century Britain: the transience of a modern medium

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Declaration

I have composed this thesis. The work is my own and has not been submitted for another degree or professional qualification. Where other people's work has been used, this has been referenced in accordance with departmental guidelines.

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Abstract

In the late nineteenth century, the use of pastels underwent a revival and many young British artists adopted the medium as a new means of expression. This surge in popularity was marked by three exhibitions dedicated to contemporary works in pastel held at the Grosvenor Gallery in London between 1888 and 1890. These shows attracted over three hundred participants and culminated in the formation of the Society of British Pastellists in 1890, which counted amongst its eminent members William Stott of Oldham (1857-1900), James Guthrie (1859-1930), George Clausen (1852-1944) and Elizabeth Armstrong (1859-1912). Despite its auspicious beginnings this movement was short-lived and the society disbanded the following year. This has caused scholars to treat the use of pastel by British artists as just a passing fad in the oeuvres of individual artists and in studies of contemporary stylistic trends. Yet, the varying involvement of these four artists with the most pioneering art movements in Britain would suggest that this medium formed an intrinsic part of their move towards a modern aesthetic. Thus, the diverse approaches of these artists will form a prism through which to examine the importance of materiality for the development of new subject matter and stylistic innovations. This study will involve not only a consideration of the formal properties of these works but also the culture in which they were produced, exhibited and critically received. Indeed, it is hoped that by situating these pastels within a wider cultural context that a further understanding of their long-term significance in the canon of modern art in Britain can be achieved. In this way, I believe that this study will contribute towards a new position for pastel as a modern medium that was essential for the invention of new artistic practices at this time.

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Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Meaning
FAS	Fine Art Society
GAC	Glasgow Art Club
GIFA	Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts
MA	Manchester Academy of the Fine Arts
NEAC	New English Art Club
NGS	National Gallery of Scotland
RA	Royal Academy
RSA	Royal Scottish Academy
RWS	Royal Society of Painters in Water-colour (now Royal Watercolour Society)
SBA	Society of British Artists
RGI	Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts (later title of GIFA)
SPF	Société de Pastellistes Français

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Introduction

The pastel medium underwent a major revival in the 1870s and 1880s, after its usage had been consigned to colouring preparatory drawings and the polite efforts of amateurs for almost a century. This resurgence in popularity was orchestrated by artists from Europe and America who were seeking new forms of expression matched to their burgeoning interest in contemporary subject matter, spontaneous effects, colour and freer techniques. Indeed, the pastel works of some pioneering artists such as Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), Edgar Degas (1834-1917) and James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) have been recognised in respective monographs.[1] Similarly, collective initiatives designed to promote pastel at a national level such as the American Society of Painters in Pastel, founded in 1882, have been the focus of a major retrospective exhibition held at the MoMA in 1989.[2] However, British artists' experiments with pastel have received only the most cursory treatment in recent studies of artistic movements and significant individuals working at this time. In addition, the only author to acknowledge its status as a cultural phenomenon is Anthony Lester who made mention of it as a precursor to the formation of the Pastel Society in 1898.[3] This invariably piecemeal coverage of British artists' responses to the pastel revival has created the impression of a passing fad which lacked the sustained impact of a widespread and dedicated trend. The purpose of this thesis then, is to address the

[1] Murphy, A., *Jean-François Millet: Drawn into the light*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Kendall, R., *Degas: beyond Impressionism*, (London: National Gallery Publications, 1996) and Lloyd, C., *Edgar Degas: Drawings and Pastels*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2014); Getscher, R., *James Abbott McNeill Whistler: pastels*, (New York: George Braziller, 1991) and MacDonald, M., *Palaces in the night: Whistler in Venice*, (Aldershot: Lund Humphries, 2001).
[2] Bolger, D. [et al.], *American pastels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989) and Pilgrim, D., 'The Revival of Pastels in Nineteenth Century America: The Society of Painters in Pastel', in *The American Journal of Art*, vol. 10, no. 2, (Nov, 1978), pp.43-62.
[3] Lester, A., 'The Pastel Society: A Brief History' in *The Pastel Society: Pastel Painting and Drawing 1898-2000*, ed. Angela Dyer, (London: The Pastel Society, 2000), pp.11-2.

balance of art historical debate by examining how the reputation of pastel came to be reinvented in Britain by artists who were influenced by this international impetus for stylistic and technical innovation.

An essential part of my research is to re-consider existing data in order to account for the apparent transience of the pastel revival and establish what, if any continuing relevance it had for pioneering artistic practice in the final decades of the nineteenth century. Central to my analysis is the role played by the Grosvenor Gallery (London) which showcased the medium between 1888 and 1890.[4] The three dedicated pastel exhibitions organised by Sir Coutts Lindsay (1824-1913), the gallery owner, attracted audiences and critics to view the works of approximately 370 contributors, mainly drawn from the younger generation of artists. The scale of the response prompted me to locate a small, representative sample of four artists with which to investigate the emergence of the pastel movement. The key resource used in the first instance to identify the artists and their works was the printed catalogue produced to accompany each of the shows. This large body of quantifiable data also forms the basis for all subsequent research. It has been included in its entirety as appendices A-C in order to allow the reader to access archive material which directly pertains to the text. So, for example, it is possible to ascertain how many artists were involved, their names and country of origin, what they exhibited, how many times they chose to submit works and crucially, for comparative purposes, the location of their pastels throughout the five rooms of gallery space.

[4] See Appendices A-C.

Primary analysis of the catalogues narrowed the process of selection to those pastellists who had an extensive oeuvre and whose lives and work had featured in monographs or other art history publications. Thus, from the outset, certain individuals such as Henry Simpson (1853-1921), a British artist based in London who submitted works to each of the Grosvenor shows, were rejected for the want of any secondary literature. The existence of art historical scholarship has in effect recognised artists who were regarded as significant proponents of the contemporary art movements which the display culture of the Grosvenor Gallery sought to endorse and promote. This seemed to suggest the suitability of including in my sample, a member of the Glasgow Boys' group, whose reputation was confirmed by a strong presence at the Grosvenor summer painting exhibition in 1890. Two of their number, James Elder Christie (1847-1914) and Arthur Melville (1855-1904), had already submitted works to the 1889 pastel show, but they were joined in October 1890 by Thomas Millie Dow (1848-1919) and James Guthrie (1859-1930). Despite his meagre showing of two pieces in the final pastel exhibition, only Guthrie was known to have worked extensively with pastels whereas the other three artists adopted the medium for a handful of works, and after a brief period of experimentation, returned to painting. It is for this reason that Guthrie was selected for further study.

The availability of abundant comparative material relating to an artist's technical adaptation of pastel similarly guided the choice of George Clausen (1852-1944). He used pastel throughout the 1880s and 1890s to make spontaneous sketches or studies that would sometimes be worked up into a finished painting. Clausen was represented at all three shows by a total of thirteen pastels which included typical examples of his

rural subject matter, such as two finished pastels of the sheepfold (1890). A substantial number of Clausen's sketches still exists thanks to the artist's son, Hugh Clausen, who donated them to the Royal Academy Collection and Bristol Art Gallery. Despite being unfinished works, they provide an important insight into Clausen's artistic practice. A notable aspect of his oeuvre was his insistence on submitting pastel studies to gallery shows. Two such studies formed part of the hang in the west gallery of the Grosvenor in 1888 and 1890. A small group of British artists including Simpson and Edward Tayler (1828-1906) shared Clausen's belief that studies enjoyed the status of artworks in their own right. Both of these artists also exhibited pastel studies at the 1888 and 1890 Grosvenor Gallery shows. Yet, Clausen is the artist whose reputation was secured as a result of making explicit his working process and this has been recognised in contemporary and subsequent accounts of his work.

This provides an interesting point of contrast with William Stott of Oldham (1857-1900) who made occasional use of pastel for preparatory drawings which contributed towards specific compositional details of his oil paintings such as *A Summer's Day*, 1886 and *Endymion*, 1888. However, unlike Clausen, he never considered these 'first draughts' worthy of display and in some instances opted to destroy them. Stott's practice focused instead on finished pastel works which explored his fascination for ethereal effects. To this end, he showcased the opacity, soft texture and colour harmonies of the medium in aesthetic interpretations of landscape and portraiture. His unique style and technical expertise guaranteed his acclaim as one of the foremost pastellists to emerge at this period. He was a regular contributor to the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibitions and was represented by nineteen works between 1888 and

1890. The extensive exhibition history of his finished pastels is recorded in his notebook, which was accessed through the assistance of Stott's biographer, Roger Brown. He was also instrumental in enabling me to trace Stott's surviving works and through his personal intervention, examine pastels now held in the private collections of Stott's descendants.

There is no substitute for the close, personal inspection of pastel art. Wherever possible, photographic records of actual pictures have been reproduced in the Figure List (Volume Two) to give the reader a visual reference of the work. However, reproductions can never convey the textural complexity of the original composition. Nevertheless, in the case of well-known artist, Louise Jopling (1843-1933), it has been necessary to include a photogravure of her dramatic head and shoulders portrait of Miss Mabel Collins, 1887 [fig.75] in order to document its existence, as the original has been lost. A marked absence of other extant works meant that Jopling was not chosen as the final member of my study group. The same problem precipitated the exclusion of amateur women pastellists, such as Mrs W. E. Hine from Reigate, Surrey and Mrs M. H. Earnshaw from Betws-y-coed, North Wales both of whom submitted several pastels to each of the three pastel shows.

Of key importance was that the small sample of artists represented a broad cross-section of the different types of work being produced under the auspices of this trend. At the same time, their efforts had to be comparable in terms of their contemporary status as artists so that analysis of the works was not tainted by value judgements about the skill of the individual artist. Thus, it was also vital that the chosen group move in

similar social and artistic circles where influences and ideas quickly proliferated. These factors informed the selection of Elizabeth Armstrong (1859-1912) as the fourth exemplar of the pastel revival. A Canadian artist resident in Britain, she was married to the artist Stanhope Forbes (1857-1947), whose letters to his wife allude to her involvement with the Whistler set, art politicking and the display and sale of her distinctive pastel works. This archive gives a personal insight into the hanging arrangements of gallery exhibitions and the priorities of the art market. Armstrong favoured figurative pieces, often featuring children engaged in a game, which had a strong narrative focus. Her pastel style was notable for its bold linearity and bright palette. By frequently using an extract from a rhyme for her titling, she made the content of her pastels readily accessible to her audience. Thus, her *The Maids were in the Garden*, exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888 references 'Sing a Song of Sixpence' and the action of the piece is involved with 'hanging out the clothes'. She exhibited a total of six works over the course of the three pastel shows and her reputation as a pastellist was further recognised in her submissions to the Society of British Artists and New English Art Club exhibitions.

The four chosen artists, Guthrie, Clausen, Stott and Armstrong all came from the same generation of artists who, as they became increasingly frustrated by what they saw as the staid élitism of the art establishment in Britain, turned to the Continent for innovative ideas about art and art making. Yet, each artist would interpret these new impulses in very different ways and their eclectic contributions to the canon have been recognised in recent studies which attempt to trace their involvement with some of the distinct stylistic movements to emerge at this time. Anna Gruetzner Robins has

discussed Stott and Armstrong's artistic development as followers of Whistler and his particular brand of Aestheticism.[5] Equally, Clausen and Guthrie have been included in volumes that examine the evolution of a peculiarly British Impressionism.[6] In addition, Stott, Clausen and Armstrong have all been the subject of monographs published within the last 20 years.[7] Guthrie's career has also benefited from renewed interest following two major exhibitions, *Impressionism and Scotland* at the National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh in 2008 and *Pioneering Painters: The Glasgow Boys*, held at Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow in 2010.[8] Guthrie's images of rural labourers in the lowlands of Scotland have also been discussed extensively in John Morrison's, *Painting, Labour and Scotland*, 2014.[9] Their assured place in the secondary literature suggests that the careers of all four artists were not only seen as significant within their lifetimes but have continued to be measured in terms of their contribution towards the development of new styles and art practices in late nineteenth-century Britain. Consequently, a focused examination of their respective motivations for adopting pastel and their varying techniques might reveal how the pastel phenomenon was linked to wider changes in the art world.

[5] Robins, A. Gruetzner, *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and his Impressionist Followers*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp.33-67.
[6] McConkey, K., *British Impressionism*, (London: Phaidon, 1998) and Wortley, L., *British Impressionism: a garden of bright images*, (London: Studio Fine Art Publications, 1989).
[7] Brown, R. *William Stott of Oldham 1857-1900*, (London: Paul Holberton, 2003), McConkey, K., *George Clausen and the Picture of English Rural Life*, (London: Atelier Books, 2012) and Cook, J., Hardie, M. and Payne, C., *Singing from the Walls: The Life and Art of Elizabeth Forbes*, (Bristol: Sansom & Company, 2000).
[8] Fowle, F., *Impressionism & Scotland*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2008); Billcliffe, R., *The Glasgow Boys*, (London: Frances Lincoln, 2008) and Stevenson, H. [et al.], *Pioneering Painters: The Glasgow Boys*, (Glasgow: Glasgow Museum Publishing, 2010).
[9] Morrison, J., *Painting, Labour and Scotland*, (Ashgate: Routledge, 2014), pp.135-169.

By limiting my study to four well-known artists, it could still be argued that I am simply reiterating familiar narratives about the contemporary art scene in Britain. Yet, despite being the subject of extensive research, their involvement in the pastel movement has often been treated as an aside to their painting practice. Certainly, in the monograph of Armstrong's oeuvre by Cook, Hardie and Payne, her use of pastel is only briefly mentioned and in fact the authors incorrectly state that she became a member of the 'Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Society' in 1891 instead of the Society of British Pastellists in 1890.[10] At the same time, Billcliffe discusses Guthrie's experiments with pastel in relation to a handful of examples that cannot fully represent the range of the 65 documented pieces which he made using the medium [see appendix D].[11] Even in Brown's 2003 Stott monograph where the balance of the discussion is measured in relation to Stott's almost equal use of pastel and paint throughout his career, the necessity of making the pieces fit into a study of his overall stylistic development means that the analysis of his pastels can be somewhat superficial.[12] The narrow confines of such studies demonstrate the limitations of a strict case study model. I have instead adopted a thematic approach to the organisation of the research material. Thus, the chapters are organised according to themes which have been chosen to reveal the scale and diversity of this trend and how it related to the development of modern art practices in Britain. In this way, the aim is to achieve a more in-depth analysis of these four artists' use of pastel than has ever previously been attempted and at the same time locate their works within the wider context of the pastel movement. Thus, it is hoped that a more comprehensive understanding of the

[10] Cook, [et al.], 2000, p.94.
[11] Caw, J., *Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A, LL.D*, (London: Macmillan, 1932), pp. 233-235; Billcliffe, 2008, pp.246-251.
[12] Brown, 2003.

evolution of the pastel trend, its dissemination and critical reception in Britain can be traced through the examples of these artists and their peers.

Central to this process then, is a clear and distinct definition of what constituted a work in pastel and how this has shaped perceptions about the scale and significance of the revival. It might seem obvious to state that a pastel is any work that has been largely or entirely made using pastel chalks but even this apparently simple assertion is open to multiple interpretations. The problem arises from the inherent flexibility of pastel both in terms of its construction and its application. Indeed, the method of making pastel is both rudimentary and complex producing a wide variety of shades and densities. P. G. Hamerton (1834-1894) noted in his highly influential book, *The Graphic Arts*, (1882) that, 'the preparation of pastel is extremely artificial, and differs with the colours employed. Pipeclay and chalk are mixed with the colouring substances, and the molecules are held together by a little mucilage, which is varied according to circumstances.'[13] The use of chalk dust as a means to change the pigment hue meant that many of the same characteristics of chalk were transferred to pastel. By altering the amount of binding agent used, pastel manufacturers could achieve the crumbly texture of chalk, the hard precision of pencil or the smudgy viscosity of paint. The visual similarities between pastel and other artistic media is evident in contemporary reviews which use the terms pastel, pastel chalks, pastel crayons and pastel painting almost interchangeably. As a consequence of the textural and chromatic parity of pastel with a variety of other media, certain works have been excluded from the discussion of works in pastel. For example, a contemporary critic

[13] Hamerton, P. G., *The Graphic Arts: A Treatise on the Varieties of Drawing, Painting, And Engraving,* (London: Seeley, Jackson and Halliday, 1882), p.152.

of the 1889 pastel show at the Grosvenor Gallery opined that many of the exhibits were not in fact pastels, 'but simple drawings in black, white and red chalks or neither more nor less than painting in distemper or combinations of distemper and pastel in varying degrees.'[14] His dismissal of works that he believed were not true pastels is a strategy that has since been frequently repeated. This has resulted in an incomplete picture of all the works that were either understood to be or exhibited as pastels at this time.

Similarly, some artists' experiments with pastel have been ignored or downplayed because they were not seen as examples of finished pastel art particularly if a work appeared to be crudely finished or left much of the paper ground exposed. This is supported by the comments of a critic from *The Art Journal* who stated that, 'it would be well to understand that pastel should be used for pictures complete after their kind, or for studies sufficient after theirs – not for things unfinished, at least in the exhibitions.'[15] Such an assumption still has resonance today. For example, in recent email correspondence, Kenneth McConkey has suggested that Clausen produced relatively few works in pastel that achieved the full level of finish required to consider them true representations of this art form.[16] This interpretation of pastel permeates his recent monograph (2012) in which he describes some of Clausen's depictions of rural life as drawings or sketches without reference to the fact that they were either rendered in or accented with pastel.[17] Yet, there was a contemporary counterclaim to this

[14] 'The Grosvenor Exhibition of Pastels', *The Athenaeum*, (19 Oct 1889), no.3234, p.528.
[15] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Art Journal*, (Dec, 1889) p.362.
[16] Email correspondence between F. Spoor and K. McConkey (21 Aug 2014 to 17 Sept 2014).
[17] McConkey, K., *Sir George Clausen, R. A. 1852-1944*, [exh.cat.], (Bradford Art Galleries and Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, 1980).

definition. Some commentators argued that by creating works with a high level of finish, in which any reference to the rapid touches or expressive linearity of the pastel sticks was expunged beneath layers of careful blending, artists were forcing the medium into the condition of painting. Indeed, Morley Roberts from *The Scottish Art Review* noted that many of the works in the first Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition (1888), 'cannot properly be described as pastel at all, being, both in its methods and aims, imitative [of] oil and watercolour.'[18] Such an argument was frequently revisited as art critics of all three shows sought to determine conclusively the most effective means of using pastel in order to express its unique material properties. Subsequent scholars have also tended to discuss these works according to their own preconceived ideas about what constitutes a pastel. However, the material indeterminacy of pastel which has resulted in the neglect or hostile criticism of certain works in the medium is also the very feature which made it so captivating for contemporary artists and art audiences.

The inherently ambiguous status of the medium continues to inform debate because pastel exists somewhere between line and colour, drawing and painting, sketch and finished piece. Rather than trying to limit the range of interpretation to one strict meaning or use, all works are discussed in relation to pastels' material and technical flexibility and the freedom this offered the artists for creative invention. Essential to this more inclusive approach, however, is a keen appreciation of its potential pitfalls. In particular, the identification of pastels is rendered problematic by the curatorial policy of grouping them, along with similar pieces in lesser media, under the generic

[18] Roberts, M., 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Scottish Art Review*, (Dec 1888), vol.1, no.7, p.179.

title of 'works on paper'. Thus, in order to engage with the material specificity of pastel, analysis of individual works proceeds on the basis of the artist's appreciation of its ambivalent status as it is my belief that this constitutes the defining feature of pastel. This interpretation is derived from those scholars who have adopted a material focused approach to the study of an artist's technique or stylistic period. Significantly, this methodology underpinned the conference (2000), *The Broad Spectrum: Studies in the materials, techniques and conservation of colour on paper*. In Marjorie Shelley's paper for this event, she describes how 'the physical properties of pastel were well adapted to the many aesthetic transformations that occurred over time…The permutations were accompanied by the changing role of the support, new modes of application and an ever expanding palette.'[19] Thus, for the purposes of this thesis I shall discuss the pastel works of my four chosen artists in relation to its ever evolving material and artistic status.

In addition to an explanatory statement of what will be considered under the term pastel, it is important to establish what I mean by modern. This has proved to be somewhat challenging as even setting the chronology for the advent of modern art is under constant review. Thus, some scholars have argued that modern artistic impulses permeated the work of artists who were working in the early to mid-nineteenth century.[20] Conversely, there are some who choose to circumvent the nineteenth century altogether stating that art from this period was still too dependent on figurative

[19] Shelley, M., 'An Aesthetic Overview of the Pastel Palette: 1500-1900' in H. Stratis and B. Salvesen ed. *The Broad Spectrum: Studies in the materials, technique and conservation of colour on paper*, (London: Archetype Publications, 2002), p.2.
[20] See Noon, P. and Riopelle, C., *Delacroix and the Rise of Modern Art*, (London: The National Gallery, 2015) pp.14-5; Tim Barriner [et al.], *Pre-Raphaelites: Victorian Avant-Garde*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2012), pp.9-17.

forms of representation to be considered truly modern.[21] Frequently the division between these two schools of thought is whether or not the modern should be viewed as a cultural as well as a formal phenomenon. In other words, should a work be considered modern solely on the basis of its formal characteristics or should the reasons why the artist has adopted a particular form of expression be included in the analysis?[22] It is worth noting in the context of my research that the majority of scholars who place the origins of modern ideas about art and art-making in the mid- to late nineteenth century combine formal analysis with a probing account of the circumstances which inspired the piece. My methodology is broadly similar, in that I intend to situate an in-depth discussion of British-based artists' technical and stylistic experimentation with pastel within the wider context of social and artistic change occurring, both nationally and internationally, during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Adopting such a deliberately broad scope serves to address the limitations of art historical debate that places prescribed national borders on accounts of modern artistic developments. For example, the overwhelming focus of literature on a cohesive group of avant-garde artists based in Paris in the 1860s and 1870s has been to the detriment of artists working elsewhere in Europe and America during the same period.[23] Indeed, contemporary British art has been largely ignored because it is viewed as disparate,

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[21] Tickner, L., *Modern Life and Modern Subjects: British Art in the early twentieth century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), p.191; Corbett, D. Peters, *The Modernity of English Art 1914-30*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997).
[22] Tickner, L., 'English Modernism in the Cultural Field' in Corbett, D. Peters, *English Art 1860-1914: Modern Artists and Identity*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.22-23.
[23] See Franscina, F., [et al.], *Modernity and Modernism: French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993); Clark, T. J., *The Painting of Modern Life: Paris in the Art of Manet and his Followers*, rv.ed., (Princeton University Press, 1999).

disengaged from cultural modernity and an inferior derivative of modern French styles.[24] Revisionist scholarship has aimed to rectify this outmoded imbalance. One of the most comprehensive investigations in this direction is Corbett and Perry's *English Art 1860-1914: Modern Artists and Identity*, (2000) which is a collection of essays designed to 'clarify the ways in which English art was woven into the cultural history of which it was part, how it contributed to the expression of contemporary concerns, and how it referred to and set itself against the processes out of which it grew.'[25] By focusing on the English experience, this study could be seen to replicate the same type of nationally-focused readings of modernity used by French Art scholars. However, by setting the issue of identity at the heart of the discussion, the contributors to this volume were able to expose the infinitely complex series of interactions that underpin the formation of individual and collective identities. Equally, these negotiations which centre on the sense of belonging to and distinction from another community underpin the processes by which an artist defined him or herself as modern. It is essential then, to examine the way in which an often overlapping series of dialogues shaped the emergence of the pastel trend. These diverse factors include the connections formed across borders and between different generations of artists, peer groups, makers and consumers of art.

The use of identity as a unifying element for disparate narratives relating to modernity is matched by the importance which I shall attribute to materiality as part of the creative process. My methodology is informed by David Peters Corbett's book, *The World in Paint: Modern Art and Visuality in England 1848-1914*, (2004) in which he

[24] Harrison, C., *English Art and Modernism 1900-1939*, (London: Allen Lane, 1981).
[25] Corbett and Perry, 2000, p.3.

argues that the modern aspect of English art can be seen as 'a floating set of possibilities, a mental climate about the visual arts, expressed most forcefully in the manipulation of pigment on surface.'[26] Although he focuses on the use of paint as a non-verbal means of expressing the social and psychological experience of contemporary life in England, his theories about how this interaction can be seen as modern are transferable to the British pastel revival. This is supported by Elizabeth Prettejohn who has suggested that the multitude of different styles that emerged in Britain at this time were all in one way or another seeking to give material specificity to 'the complex transaction by which the work of art both places itself in relation to, and opens a liberating distance from, the 'real' world in which we necessarily live.'[27] Both authors make the case that the medium at hand could act as an interpreter rather than just a means of recording some of the seismic changes that were occurring in art and society at the end of the nineteenth century. Such a view has shaped the discussion of how pastel came to be reinvented as a distinctly modern medium which embraced and translated contemporary ideas about art and society.

Crucial in this respect is the essay written by French poet and art critic, Charles Baudelaire (1821-1867), *The Painter of Modern Life*, 1863 as it is the oft-quoted source of the term *modernité*. He describes the meaning of this neologism as the ability 'to distil the eternal from the transitory.'[28] Central to his thesis was the belief that art

[26] Corbett, D. Peters, *The World in Paint: Modern Art and Visuality in England 1848-1914*, (Pennsylvania State University, 2004), p.11.
[27] Prettejohn, E., 'Aestheticism', Stephens, C., ed., *The History of British Art 1870-now*, vol.3 (London: Tate Publishing, 2008), p.35.
[28] Baudelaire, C., trans. Jonathan Mayne, *The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays*, 2nd ed., (London: Phaidon, 1995), p.12.

should reflect the fast pace of contemporary life in a modern urban metropolis.[29] This has led some scholars to cite British artists' failure to depict the city environment in their art as evidence of their stilted response to modern impulses. Nevertheless, Baudelaire's ideas about the necessity for immediacy, contemporaneity and capturing the ephemeral in modern art were extremely influential in Britain not least for the pastel movement. However, it is also noteworthy in the context of the present study that he encouraged artists to use pastel because in his words in 'the daily metamorphosis of external things there is a rapidity of movement which calls for an equal speed of execution.'[30] Thus, the application of pastel as a means of recording or suggesting a dynamic scene or atmospheric effect can be considered as quintessentially modern.

Perhaps a more significant polemicist for British audiences was Whistler whose theories about what constituted modern art were distilled in his *Ten o'clock lecture*, 1885. Like Baudelaire, he believed that artists should seek out the beauty of their own age but instead of privileging immediate sensation as the vital feature of contemporary life, Whistler argued for a more measured approach to composition. He asserted that, 'the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements [colour and form], that the result may be beautiful – as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he brings forth from chaos, glorious harmony.'[31] His emphasis on capturing the aesthetic essence of a scene was neatly encapsulated in the series of pastels which he made while staying in Venice in 1881. These brief notes in colour

[29] *Ibid.*
[30] *Ibid.*, p.4.
[31] Whistler, Ten o'clock lecture, Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, 20 February 1885, transcript accessed at http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/miscellany/tenoclock/ (13 May 2016).

were an important precursor of how pastel could be used to capture a familiar subject afresh.[32] In other words, Whistler believed that the artist should not be satisfied with simply recording the new, he should also seek out new ways of seeing and representing it. Whistler's views also influenced the writing of Frederick Wedmore (1844-1921) who would engage with the works exhibited in the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows in terms of the originality of the artist's vision and handling of the material.[33]

Equally influential in the promotion of innovation was the idea that the creative vision of the artist should match the formal properties of the material at hand. This concept was most notably championed by Hamerton who believed that an artist ought to be temperamentally attuned to his 'instrument', and 'to be blind for the time to the qualities it cannot render, to be sensitive to those which it interprets readily.'[34] His ideas permeate many of the pastel exhibition reviews as critics urged artists to appreciate the range of possibilities offered by this new and exciting medium together with its inevitable limitations. This became an essential prerequisite for making great art according to many of the new art critics such as George Moore (1852-1933) and R. A. M. Stevenson (1847-1900). Indeed, Moore advocated in his book of collected essays, *Modern Painting*, (1893) that artists should work with the medium in order to discover its expressive potential rather than forcing it into a previously prescribed technique or style.[35] Stevenson would use similar rhetoric in his study of Velasquez (1895) in which he argued that, 'the true artist's thought is of his material, of its beauties, of its limitations, of its propriety to the task proposed. He has to achieve

[32] MacDonald, 2001, pp.106-7.
[33] Wedmore, F., 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Academy*, (25 Oct 1890), no.964, p.370.
[34] Hamerton, 1882, p.2.
[35] Moore, G., *Modern Painting*, (London: Walter Scott Limited, 1893), p.60.

beauty, but under conditions – of fact, of decoration, of a medium.'[36] Even this analysis of a past master was influenced by contemporary theories about the importance of materiality and artistic temperament in producing something new and relevant in a modern artistic context. So influential were these ideas that they also underpin any consideration of the ways in which pastel was reinvented.

Yet, the emphasis of contemporary critics on the intense subjectivity of the artist's experience and the independence of the creative process fails to take into account the wider social and cultural exigencies which can drive innovation and effect change. As previously noted, recent studies have sought to trace the development of a modern art scene in Britain in the mid- to late nineteenth century by moving beyond the artworks to the contemporary evolution of exhibition culture, artistic societies and the art market. For example, there have been two studies devoted to the history of the Grosvenor Gallery and the exhibitions held there.[37] The usefulness of this secondary literature is limited, however, by its incomplete grasp of the circumstances surrounding the staging of the pastel exhibitions. Thus, there is no mention of the pastel shows in Casteras and Denny's compendium of essays, *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England* (1996). Similarly, Newall's potted history of the Grosvenor's summer exhibitions incorrectly suggests that the Society of British Pastellists adopted the Grosvenor Gallery as their temporary home in 1890 rather than recognising that its foundation was the culmination of three consecutive shows held in the space.[38] Such

[36] Stevenson, R. A. M., 'The Lesson of Impressionism', in *Velasquez*, (London: G. Bell & Sons, 1912), p.115.
[37] Newall, C., *The Grosvenor Gallery Exhibitions: Change and Continuity in the Victorian Art World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and Casteras, S., and Denney, C., ed., *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
[38] Newall, 1995, p.26.

notable omissions and factual errors have motivated my search for an alternative source of information and comment. To this end, I have chosen to reference extensively the mediating influence of the popular press.

The final decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a growth in periodical culture which catered to an ever-expanding readership. Thus, for example, weekly pictorial papers such *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* regularly recorded a circulation of half a million by the mid-1880s.[39] National daily newspapers like *The Times* were potentially accessed by the same readers as provincial dailies. However, in order to extend their appeal beyond the lure of local interest, newspapers such as *The Western Times* and the *Glasgow Herald* included regular contributions from 'our London correspondent'. The widespread influence of such periodicals prompted me to gauge public response to the pastel revival by sourcing reviews from contemporary journals and newspapers dedicated to the pastel shows held at the Grosvenor Gallery between 1888 and 1890. These articles typically include an appraisal of the overall aspect of the exhibition before proceeding to a detailed consideration of specific pictures and artists. A comprehensive written account such as this was intended to attract gallery visitors and provide a commentary about the latest trends in art practice which formed an essential part of the copy on the cultural pages. Indeed, Anne Helmreich has argued that art audiences 'need not have entered into exhibition halls to have participated in this culture…[because] newspapers and journals were filled

[39] Onslow, B., 'Preaching to the Ladies: Florence Fenwick Miller and her readers in the *Illustrated London News'* in Brake, L. and Codell, J., (ed.), *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers,* (Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.91.

with notices and reviews.'[40] The reader was therefore able to appreciate vicariously the visual spectacle of the gallery presentation, without experiencing it in person. It is precisely this phenomenon which has facilitated the subsequent scrutiny of the pastel works selected for comment. In some instances, these descriptors now provide the only visible trace of pastels which are lost or held in private collections. The edited highlights of the exhibition gained by their comparison with works deemed to be laughable or eccentric. By systematically reducing the range of viewing options to a small, select group of pictures, journalistic process helped to direct the gaze of the audience. The names of the four chosen artists feature prominently in press reports throughout the duration of the three pastel shows, thereby confirming contemporary recognition of their place in the vanguard of the pastel revival. The task of identifying and interpreting new pastel styles and techniques undoubtedly caused some writers to articulate their personal prejudices in the guise of an informed critique. Despite the threat posed by such bad press, it was not necessarily damaging. Instead, it frequently galvanised the pastellists to refine their practice yet still produce innovative works which came to be hailed as exceptional. Thus, both praise and invective framed the critical reception of the pastel movement, by defining what was memorable about these exemplars of modern pastel practice for a nationwide audience.

The power of the press to transmit information and affect the behaviour of its readers is significant in this respect. The author of the 'Ladies Page' in *The Illustrated London News* makes clear that, 'for every hundred persons who listen to the priest, the

[40] Helmreich, A., 'Excess on the Walls: Victorian Exhibition Culture and Anxieties of Art and Commerce', in Skelly, J., (ed.), The Uses of Excess in visual and material culture, 1600-2010, (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2014), p.116.

journalist…speaks to a thousand…[and] may effectively influence the thoughts and…actions of thousands in the near future.'[41] This amply demonstrates the mechanism by which the ideas that underpinned the pastel movement were disseminated. The use of pastel was also popularised by close personal networks formed as a result of shared artistic beliefs and experience. As has been shown, many of the studies from this period are organised according to loosely formed groups such as the Glasgow School which did not have a strict aesthetic manifesto. Instead, the artists were united by working together in close proximity or exchanging ideas through a sympathetic forum such as the New English Art Club. Thus, the stylistic development of the chosen four artists has been discussed in terms of their involvement with these various movements and organisations. In a small number of documented cases, their adoption of and enthusiasm for pastel was directly communicated to others in their circle, thereby encouraging them to explore the inherent possibilities of the medium. For example, Gruetzner Robins suggests that Armstrong and Sidney Starr (1857-1925) took up pastel while working under Whistler's guidance, however, it is notable that she does not include Stott in this assessment.[42] Similarly, Guthrie's accomplishments with pastel have been credited with influencing his colleagues from the Glasgow School, Joseph Crawhall (1861-1913) and Arthur Melville to experiment with the medium.[43] However, the importance of artistic networks for advancing the trend for pastel is only hinted at in these texts and in most cases not alluded to at all. Indeed, Kenneth McConkey's, *The new English: a history of the New English Art*

[41] Fenwick Miller, F., *Harriet Martineau*, (London: W. H. Allen, 1884), pp.164-5.
[42] Robins, 2007, p.57.
[43] Billcliffe, 2008, p.246; Bury, A, *Joseph Crawhall: The Man and the Artist*, (London: Charles Skilton, 1958); Hamilton, V., Joseph Crawhall 1861-1913, (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums and Art Gallery, 1990), p.54; Mackay, A., *Arthur Melville, Scottish Impressionist*, (Leigh-on-sea: F. Lewis, 1951) and Gale, I., *Arthur Melville*, (London: Atelier Books, 1996).

Club, 2006 which plots the establishment, exhibitions and institutional politicking of this pioneering organisation, does not mention that pastels were a significant feature of the annual shows in 1889 and 1890.[44] At the same time, other artist-run organisations such as the Society of British Artists and the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, where the four artists exhibited works in pastel during the 1880s, are yet to form the subject of such a comprehensive historical review, let alone be investigated for their role in promoting the pastel movement. Therefore, I shall seek to use the personal and professional relationships forged by Clausen, Stott, Guthrie and Armstrong to plot how new ideas about pastel proliferated amongst the wider art community in Britain.

It would be naïve to assume that the reasons for adopting pastel were always purely artistic. Viewing the pastel works of their peers either directly or in exhibitions may have inspired some artists to experiment with the qualities that were unique to the medium but others may simply have adopted it to keep pace with the latest fashion or for economic reasons. Indeed, several recent studies have focused on the impact of art market exigencies on the spread of modern art practices in Britain at this time. For example, some of the essays in *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939*, (2011) offer a fresh perspective on the ways in which commercial enterprise transformed the relationship between artists, their artworks and their audience.[45]

[44] McConkey, *The new English: a history of the New English Art Club*, (London: Royal Academy of Art, 2006), pp.53-6.
[45] See Fletcher, P., 'Shopping for Art: the rise of the commercial art gallery, 1850s-90s'; Codell, J., 'the art press and the art market: the artist as 'economic man' and De Montfort, P., 'Negotiating a Reputation: J.M. Whistler, D. G. Rossetti and the art market, 1860-1900' in Fletcher and Helmreich ed., *The Rise of the Modern Art Market in London, 1850-1939*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

Beyond London, Frances Fowle has shown how a tight nexus of art dealers and collectors based in the West of Scotland pioneered the taste for modern French and Dutch styles which in turn would inspire a generation of young, local artists to adopt similar techniques.[46] Furthermore, she has revealed in her book *Van Gogh's Twin: The Scottish Art Dealer Alexander Reid 1854-1928*, (2010) that 'Reid is said to have encouraged Guthrie to work in pastels, and was fond of working in this medium himself.'[47] These studies of the supporting systems and individuals who helped to shape the contemporary art scene are contingent on the existence of sufficient sales' records in order to plot the development of certain trends. However, for the pastel movement as a whole and the chosen individual artists in particular, information pertaining to sales and collectors is patchy, to say the least. So, for example, Stott has the most comprehensive records which he made in advance of his 1896 retrospective. In his personal notebook he included information about where the works were exhibited, who bought them and the prices achieved.[48] This information is supplemented by an annotated catalogue for his 1902 memorial show in which his widow Christina Mary Stott has recorded the lenders and purchasers of work in the exhibition.[49] By contrast, Guthrie's pastels were not catalogued until 1933 by his biographer James Caw (1864-1950) who simply noted where they were exhibited and who bought them.[50] Whilst Armstrong and Clausen have no contemporary *catalogue raisonné* or personal accounts, I have accessed occasional notes on particular works

[46] Fowle, 2008, pp.23-5.
[47] Fowle, F., *Van Gogh's Twin: The Scottish Art Dealer Alexander Reid 1854-1928*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2010), p.57.
[48] William Stott notebook, MS, 1896, private collection.
[49] 'Special Exhibition of Pictures by the late William Stott, of Oldham', Corporation of Manchester Art Gallery, (11th – 31st Jan 1902), MS annotations, private collection.
[50] Caw, 1932, pp.233-5.

contained in surviving examples of their correspondence.[51] Despite the challenge which this lack of documentation presents, it is still important to incorporate art market methodologies into any consideration of the popularisation of pastel. Such a strategy casts light on the extent to which the burgeoning pastel trend was fuelled by a demand for innovative works which, when it declined, was one of the contributory factors in its unexpected demise.

As can be readily appreciated the presentation of my research findings has necessitated the careful and systematic organisation of material into numbered chapters. These have been structured around five different aspects of the late nineteenth-century pastel movement and its relation to the spread of modern art practices in Britain. In order to provide a more detailed account of the key areas of study, included below is a summary of the chapter content. In the first chapter, the trend for pastel is situated within its historical context in order to establish the extent to which it represented something distinctly new both in terms of the use of the medium and its status as an art form. Certainly, a notable feature of the reviews for the first pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888 was the perceived novelty surrounding the medium and its display for British art audiences. Indeed, Cosmo Monkhouse (1840-1901) noted that with the exception of Whistler's 1881 display of pastel, 'this is not only the first pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor, but probably the first in England.'[52] In addition, some broad accounts of the historical use of pastel such as Genevieve Monnier's, *Pastels:*

[51] There is a collection of letters from Armstrong to Stanhope Forbes contained in the Stanhope Forbes Archive, Tate Britain, London, coll.no. 9015.2.2.; Sir George Clausen, 39 letters, held in the National Art Library, pressmark 86.YY.19.
[52] Monkhouse, C., 'The First Pastel Exhibition', *The Academy*, (3 Nov 1888), p.294.

From the 16th to the 20th century, (1984) omit British artists' efforts from this period.[53] Consequently, chapter one seeks to question both the contemporary and historical impression of British unfamiliarity with this medium by tracing the origins of the pastel movement in Britain as they were encountered by my four chosen artists. As part of this process, I shall examine what prior knowledge they had of the pastel medium as it was used by past masters. It is important to establish what impact, if any, these examples had on the nineteenth-century revival, for the purposes of ascertaining how this movement differed in direction and emphasis. Furthermore, in order to account for pastel's diminished status, careful consideration will be given to how established media hierarchies, which favoured oil painting, were perpetuated in contemporary texts, teaching practices and exhibition policies. At the same time, these viewpoints were challenged by artists who championed alternative media and techniques. Thus, it is possible to discern how Clausen, Stott, Guthrie and Armstrong were inspired by progenitors of contemporary art trends like Millet, Whistler and Degas to experiment with new media and techniques. An assessment also needs to be made of the various means by which these impulses were transmitted through artistic networks, written tracts and exhibitions both in Britain and abroad.

Having situated the revival within the historical context of contemporary art and artistic developments, chapter two offers an in-depth technical analysis of the works of the chosen artists and some of their colleagues. In this respect, I shall adopt a similar approach to that championed by scholars such as Corbett and Shelley who have worked to reprioritise the medium as an essential force rather than a passive element

[53] Monnier, G., *Pastels: From the 16th to the 20th century*, (Paris: Skira, 1984).

in the creative process. The renewed emphasis on the formal qualities of pastel is characterised by many of the reviews and theoretical tracts published to coincide with the burgeoning interest in the medium. This chapter therefore, will question what technical qualities were believed to be unique to pastel and how the chosen artists experimented with these features in the creation of their own styles. In order to compare their techniques directly, all the works will be discussed under the subject headings of landscape, figurative pieces and portraiture. These broad categories allow for a diverse range of compositions, techniques and styles to be discussed in terms of how the specific material properties of pastel helped the artist to achieve something innovative either on an individual level or in terms of the subject itself. This too is symptomatic of the way in which established genres were being adapted to modern life by the new means of expression such as pastel which permitted artists to work quickly and capture the moment. As has been shown, debates about how line, colour, tone, surface texture, immediacy and finish could be used to convey an artist's unique vision of his or her milieu abounded and artists turned to pastel as a way to explore these technical aspects of their own work.[54]

Following on from chapters one and two which examine definitions of pastel and its adoption by artists for a variety of different purposes, chapter three seeks to demonstrate how the ideas surrounding its use were shaped by exhibition policy. It is certainly the case that prior to the mid-1880s pastels had never comprised the main focus of public art exhibitions in Britain. This situation began to change slowly, however, as a growing number of enterprising art institutions and art dealers allowed

[54] Hamerton, 1882; Whistler, 1885; Stevenson, 1912; Moore, 1893.

for a broader range of works to be displayed than had previously been possible. Thus, it is important to trace what opportunities were made available for British artists to display their tentative efforts with pastel and how this helped to propagate the trend amongst a wider audience. In addition, the American Society of Painters in Pastel established in 1882 and the Société de Pastellistes Français, established in 1885, will be examined as possible prototypes for the organisation of the dedicated pastel shows at the Grosvenor Gallery. These three exhibitions held between 1888 and 1890 form the main content of this chapter. By closely examining the organisation and critical reception of these shows, particularly in relation to the works contributed by the four artists, I hope to build up a picture of the ways in which these exhibitions helped to inform and change attitudes towards pastel. Finally, by including a discussion of other pastel exhibitions that occurred in the wake of the Grosvenor Gallery shows, it is possible to assess what impact they had on the continued growth of the pastel movement. This includes a detailed examination of exhibitions held at the New English Art Club and the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts as well as Guthrie and Stott's solo shows.

Among the crucial components of pastel's burgeoning reputation as a modern medium was its association with a younger generation of artists whose experimentation produced new styles of pastel art promoted by exhibitions at a range of venues dedicated to artistic innovation. It is also worth considering how these same artists chose to respond to the suggestion that pastel was somehow a "feminine" medium. Unpicking the gendered associations surrounding pastel is important not only for understanding how it came to be reinvented but also why the trend appears to have

been so short-lived. This will involve in chapter four a consideration of how pastel was viewed in terms of the gender constructs of the day. For example, its soft, friable texture and role as a colouring medium were often cited as reasons to consider it as feminine especially when these were contrasted with seemingly masculine qualities such as strong contours and a degree of permanency.[55] Equally, its association with amateur practice led many critics to cast the medium as one suited only to the daubing of middle-class women instead of professional male artists.[56] Yet, this was a period when the parameters of masculinity and femininity were being redrawn in the light of social and cultural changes and the art world was no exception. Certainly, there have been several recent studies seeking to reveal the methods by which women inserted themselves into the art world as artists, critics and collectors.[57] At the same time, traditional patriarchal ideas about men were being challenged by the invention of modern male identities such as the *flâneur* or the aesthete.[58] It is important therefore, to consider how these changes affected the way both male and female artists sought to use pastel and how their works were then displayed and received. From an examination of this material, I hope to ascertain the extent to which these shifting gendered associations proved paradoxically to be both ground-breaking and potentially divisive for the pastel movement.

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[55] Blanc, C., trans. Kate Doggett Newell, *The Grammar of Painting*, (New York: Lund Publishing, 1874), pp.190-1.
[56] 'The Grosvenor Gallery. From a Correspondent.', *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (29 Oct 1888), p.8.
[57] Cherry, D., *Beyond the Frame: feminism and visual culture, Britain 1850-1900*, (London: Routledge, 2000); Hadjiafxendi Kyriaki and Patricia Zakreski, ed., *Crafting the Woman Professional in the Long Nineteenth Century, artistry and industry in Britain*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013).
[58] Stephenson, A., 'Refashioning Modern Masculinity: Whistler, aestheticism and national identity' in Corbett and Perry, 2000; Danahay, M. A., *Gender at Work in Victorian Culture: Literature, Art and Masculinity*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

Following the topics highlighted in the previous chapters, chapter five will provide a reflective overview of the extent to which pastel was reinvented as a modern medium and how this might have impacted on its relatively fleeting popularity as an artistic phenomenon. Indeed, few scholars have even attempted to question the issue of longevity with most simply referring to pastel as a tangential phase in an individual artist's oeuvre. Yet, it is worth considering the reasons why it may have been so short-lived as these can reveal how the movement related to the development of other contemporary art practices. For example, the argument could be made that whilst the close identification of the medium with popular fashion was crucial for its challenge to traditional artistic hierarchies, this inadvertently compromised its long-term survival because it came to be seen as a passing fad. The endurance of the pastel medium itself was also called into question because of its intrinsically ambiguous material properties. However, the existence of pastel works which are considered in my study is testament to the effectiveness of contemporary fixatives and an increasing awareness of conservation methods. What was perhaps more decisive in suggesting the inherent transience of the modern medium was the apparent disappearance of pastel from public view. This lack of visibility resulted in part from works being held in private collections. However, of greater importance was the closure in 1890 of the Grosvenor Gallery which had played such a pivotal role in keeping pastels in the public eye. Despite the removal of such a vital display forum, the pastel revival continued to have resonance in the lives of artists like Guthrie whose later works were prefigured by his experimentation with pastel. By interrogating the notion of transience in its many forms, I hope to account for its neglect in subsequent studies of art from this period.

The aim throughout this study is to examine how pastel has continued to be viewed as a minor art form which had little significant impact on artistic developments in late nineteenth-century Britain. It is important therefore, to establish from primary sources such as artists' personal papers, exhibition catalogues and newspaper reviews, the origins of this persistent indifference in order to gain a deeper understanding of the significance of the pastel revival. Indeed, it is my contention that the material properties of pastel which generated such a critical backlash were actually what marked out the medium as one that was ideally suited to the modern impulses that were shaping art and art practice. By focusing on the four chosen artists, I hope to show how their experimentation was a key element in finding new ways of working with pastel and recommending its use to other like-minded artists. The wider dissemination of pastel works was undoubtedly aided by the display culture of the Grosvenor Gallery where pastel for the first time became the unique subject of three consecutive exhibitions between 1888 and 1890. The impact of such an initiative was two-fold. Firstly, the transformation of public perceptions about the medium spearheaded its reinvention as a dynamic and distinctly modern art form. Secondly, the inclusion of pastel works by amateur artists and those of a more traditional persuasion particularly in the second show, attracted adverse criticism which subsequently paved the way for a more informed appreciation of the skill and dexterity of artists in the third show. Thus, the key role of the Grosvenor Gallery can be contextualised in order to cast new light on a hitherto neglected phenomenon. In this way, the thesis represents a rigorous investigation which not only contributes towards the scholarship surrounding pastel but also establishes the foundation for further research.

Chapter 1 Origins of the pastel revival in late nineteenth-century Britain

Introduction

When the first pastel exhibition was staged at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888 several of the reviewers commented on the originality of such an enterprise in Britain. So, for example, a critic from *The Graphic* stated that 'the art of drawing in pastel or coloured crayon has been so little cultivated in this country, that the exhibition just opened at Sir Coutts Lindsay's Gallery will, to untravelled Englishmen, have the charm of novelty.'[1] In order to acquaint both the reviewers and their readership with the distinctive qualities of pastel and its use, many articles included a brief summary of some of its past masters as well as suggestions about contemporary influences on this burgeoning art trend. For the most part the reviewers failed to investigate how the artists involved might have seen these early examples of pastel art and what effect they had, if any, on its present use. Many of the reviews were also marked by an authorial bias against pastel as an art form as well as the younger generation of artists who were experimenting with it and the perceived deterioration of national artistic standards as a result of the influx of foreign styles and techniques into Britain. Even so, their attempt to locate the late nineteenth-century fervour for pastel within some kind of logical time sequence is still a useful means of assessing the relative originality of the art works and the way in which the medium was promoted.

[1] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *The Graphic*, (27 Oct 1888), p.443.

It is my purpose in this chapter to trace the origins of the pastel revival by examining what access my four chosen artists and some of their contemporaries had to possible sources of inspiration. This will include a consideration of what knowledge they may have had of pastel styles from the late eighteenth century, when the medium had last enjoyed a period of sustained popularity. Similarly, I shall question the extent to which early and mid-nineteenth-century British artists' tacit use of pastel as part of their creative practice may have affected contemporary public perceptions of pastel with regard to its adoption as an art form in its own right. Given that many of the earlier examples of pastel art were held in private collections or never intended for public exhibition, it is challenging to ascertain how these past works impacted upon the pastel movement. In addition, there are only a few surviving works, especially in pastel, from my artists' early careers and so information about their respective influences must be gleaned from personal papers, retrospective biographical accounts and from sources available at the time or those which are actually documented. The former include other artists, contemporary exhibitions of works in this medium and material published in books or journals. In this way, it is possible to piece together a picture of these artists' interaction with the styles and techniques of past masters. This is essential for gauging the reasons why their works were seen as particularly novel when they were exhibited in 1888.

If on the other hand, as the reviewers seem to suggest, this was a movement which owed its origins to the most recent developments of 'the modern French school of treatment', then it is the impact of artists such as Jean-François Millet, Léon Lhermitte

(1844-1925), and Edgar Degas which must be assessed.[2] It is my intention, therefore, to investigate the means by which their works were encountered by Clausen, Guthrie, Armstrong and Stott and how the appropriation of French pastel techniques affected the reception of the pastel pictures which they themselves produced. The relative importance of France on the emerging trend for pastel in Britain must also be measured against other possible influences and the development of individual or personal styles by British artists. Indeed, equally significant for the popularisation of pastel was the sharing of ideas between British and American artists who were studying or working on the Continent. In such a way, the increasing internationalism of the contemporary art scene led to broader cross-currents and networks of exchange. These transatlantic connections are noteworthy in light of the fact that a small cohort of young American artists would be the first to form a professional society dedicated to the promotion of pastel.[3] Thus, I shall consider how their early appreciation of this art form and their ability to reveal, in the words of a reviewer from *The Art Journal*, 'certain qualities not hitherto supposed to be possible in pastel drawing', may have encouraged their British counterparts to do the same.[4] In this respect, it is impossible to underestimate the importance of the American artist James McNeill Whistler, whose exhibition of Venice pastels in 1881 at the Fine Art Society, London had received widespread publicity. Whistler's dedicated circle of followers meant that he was well placed to propagate the trend for pastel. Therefore, I intend to trace the way in which his style of pastel art together with his broader aesthetic theories impacted on the adoption and use of pastel by his acolytes, including Stott and Armstrong. From such a close

[2] 'Exhibitions', *The Art Journal*, (Jul 1888), p.222.
[3] Pilgrim, 1978, pp.43-62.
[4] 'The First Exhibition of the American Painters in Pastel', *The Art Journal*, (May 1884), p.157.

analysis of the interaction of my four chosen artists with several possible sources of inspiration, I hope to highlight how this movement was an integral part of artistic developments occurring at this time.

Past Examples of Pastel Art in Late Nineteenth-Century Britain

Largely unused for almost a century, the sudden revival of pastel in the 1880s prompted discussion about the origins of this new movement. Inevitably, past examples of pastel art provided a framework for examining technique and finish in contemporary works. Such nostalgia caused a critic from *The Standard* to lament the absence of these former masters from the 1888 pastel show. He stated emphatically that in his opinion,

> 'we should have had some of the pastel portraits by the Venetian Rosalba…the infinitely vigorous "preparations" of Latour [sic], a true master of the medium…there might have been Chardins [sic]…there were Englishmen – and Irishmen, too, we believe – who about the end of the eighteenth century, took up a medium, in which the effects were brilliant, and were obtained with rapidity.'[5]

There are two important inferences that can be drawn from this critique. The first is the suggestion that only by copying the Old Masters could 'new art' have a worthy template. The second is that a historic overview would demonstrate the continuities and discontinuities between past and present use of pastel, thereby showcasing former glory whilst at the same time framing the originality of its latest incarnation. Furthermore, the underlying assumption of the author is that the pastel artists participating in the 1888 show would at least have been aware of the work of some of

[5] This critic is referring to Rosalba Carriera, Maurice Quentin de La Tour and Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin. 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Standard*, (20 Oct 1888), p.2.

their distinguished predecessors as a result of accessing existing collections and contemporary publications. Certainly, during the previous decade Thomas Birch Wolfe had gifted to the National Gallery seven 'crayon studies' by Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788).[6] Other eighteenth-century pastel works had also featured in recent Scottish and English exhibitions. Thus, in 1880 and 1884 audiences in Edinburgh were able to view a handful of pastel portraits by Archibald Skirving (1749-1819).[7] The Grosvenor Gallery too, had held a loan exhibition during the winter season of 1877, 1878 and 1879 showcasing pieces in a variety of media by the Old Masters and the deceased masters of the British and French schools. Unfortunately, the catalogues for these exhibitions do not generally list the media despite the works falling under the broad category of watercolours and drawings. The only work to be identified explicitly as a pastel drawing is *Portrait of A Lady*, [undated] by Maurice Quentin de La Tour (1704-1788) which was included in the 1877-8 winter show.[8] In a work of the same name [fig.1], it is possible to see that de La Tour used tinted paper on which he built up layers of carefully blended colour to create a smooth surface effect. The display of such work as well as the inclusion of pieces, albeit of unknown media, by some of the recognised artists of eighteenth-century pastel art including Gainsborough and Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725-1805) reveals that pre-nineteenth-century pastel styles and techniques were visible in a contemporary context.

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[6] Cook, Edward T., with preface by John Ruskin, A *Popular Handbook to the National Gallery*, (London: Macmillan, 1889), p.653; 'crayon studies' are almost certainly pastels; the extent of Gainsborough's use of pastel is explained in Jeffares, N., *Dictionary of Pastellists before 1800*, (London: Unicorn Press, 2006), p.186.

[7] Isabella Fraser Tytler, c.1801, Mrs William Tytler, c.1801 and Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lordwoodhouselee, 1798 were loaned by the Tytler family to an exhibition in Edinburgh 1880, Mrs John Welsh of Haddington was sent by Mrs Carlyle to an exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1884. Jeffares, 2006.

[8] *The Grosvenor Gallery – Winter Exhibition of Drawings by the Old Masters and Watercolour drawings by deceased artists of the British School*, [exh.cat.], 1877-8, cat.no. 928, p.118.

The availability of actual works was augmented by the publication of several extensive articles on some of the medium's greatest past masters. For example, in 1876 Frederick Wedmore wrote a three-page article on the oeuvre of Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699-1779) in which he described how, 'the success of Quentin de la Tour, now his [Chardin's] neighbour in the galleries of the Louvre – Quentin de la Tour, who has enriched the museum of his native town so that it is worthy of a pilgrimage – led him to the execution of pastel-portraits.'[9] This aside in Wedmore's article shows his admiration for both artists which is endorsed by the recommendation that his readers view these pastel works for themselves. In an article written a decade later, Carew Martin in discussing the career of Rosalba Carriera (1673-1757) stated that, 'among the pastel-painters of the last century, none in France, Germany or Italy had enjoyed a wider celebrity'.[10] Perhaps more importantly for the present discussion, however, was the reason Carew gave for writing his article. Recognising the contemporary trend for pastel in America and France, he believed that a feeling for the medium might be rekindled in England given that 'our present love of the eighteenth century…the rose-coloured shadows of a society each day receding farther from us into the dusk – might be placed once more in honour in our pretty modern drawing-rooms and boudoirs.'[11] Although somewhat critical of the frivolity of her style and the overtly feminine sweetness of her colouring, Carew was attempting an art historical overview of Carriera's oeuvre in an attempt to persuade his current audience to study her works and learn from her technique.

[9] Wedmore, F. 'Chardin', *The Academy*, (30 Sept 1876), p.342.
[10] Martin, C., 'Rosalba Carriera', *The Art Journal*, (Sept 1886), p.273.
[11] *Ibid.*

Indeed, the didactic purpose of gaining a familiarity with the former masters of an art form, either from literature or exhibitions of their work, was felt to be the foundation of any young artist's education. As the pre-eminent art critic John Ruskin (1819-1900) explained in his widely read book, *The Elements of Drawing*, it was, 'a more important thing for young people and unprofessional students, to know how to appreciate the art of others, than to gain much power in art themselves.'[12] Certainly, both Armstrong and Clausen recalled this aspect of their training when they were both based in London in the mid- to late 1870s. Clausen said that as a boy of fifteen he had studied objects in the South Kensington museum and even after he took up a scholarship at the attached South Kensington School, he believed that he had learned the most from time spent in the School's library or visiting local exhibitions.[13] Similarly, Armstrong's most vivid recollections of the South Kensington School were focused on her visits to the museum which she stated was 'a treasure-house of inexhaustible delight.'[14] Although neither artist explicitly references studying works in pastel on these educational excursions, their reminiscences demonstrate that they were absorbing a wide range of artistic influences from different periods. Caw provides the only clue that Guthrie was familiar with eighteenth-century pastels, in his biography of the artist, when he notes that so widespread was its use as a portrait medium that 'even Scotland had had in Skirving a favourite pastellist' before going on to commend pastel, 'used by Rosalba, Quentin de la Tour, and Russell…[as] brilliant and pleasing, with bright

[12] Ruskin, J., *The Elements of Drawing in Three Letters to Beginners*, (New York: John Wiley, 1864), p.xi.
[13] Clausen, G., 'Autobiographical Notes', *Artwork*, vol.7, no.25, 1931, p.17.
[14] Birch, 1906, p.57.

colour, delicate modelling, and smooth and elaborate surface finish.'[15] Apart from this direct reference, the extent to which these works were closely studied by late nineteenth-century artists is difficult to ascertain with any with any degree of accuracy.

What is clear from contemporary accounts is the ready availability of instruction manuals compiled by colourmen which promoted the pastel techniques widely employed in the eighteenth century. Their intended audience comprised aspiring artists, as yet unfamiliar with the uses of pastel. A typical example of such self-help guides, written by the artist J. L. Sprinck (1862-1948), appeared in 1886. It recommended three distinct styles thought to encapsulate the methods of the foremost past masters of the medium, including François Boucher (1703-1770), Greuze and de La Tour. In essence, his booklet provided nothing more than basic advice and a notional starting point for imitation and subsequent experimentation. The clearly stated aim throughout was to sell the art supplies stocked by Lechertier, Barbe & Co. including pastels and tinted papers, which were prominently advertised as part of the back matter. Although Guthrie's, *Portrait of a Girl*, 1883 [fig.2] predates this particular manual, its explicit referencing of eighteenth-century pastel portraiture demonstrates the working method advocated by Sprinck. However, despite Guthrie's adoption of the three-quarter profile, delicate colour palette and somewhat sentimental treatment of the subject matter, his technique neither approximates the softly blended surface coverage of past examples nor the luminosity of a work drawn on tinted papers. His relative inexperience with the medium is made explicit in the coarseness of his

[15] Caw, 1932, p.51.

handling, particularly in the girl's dress and facial features. In addition, Guthrie's preference for brown paper as his support was specific to the nineteenth century.

The way in which the lightness and charm of eighteenth-century portraiture was rendered all but obsolete after the passage of almost one hundred years is discussed by Ruth Kenny in her 2014 article, 'The Craze for Pastel'. Here she explains that whilst pastel had been 'appreciated for its informality and intimacy, capturing a sensual, sociable age of luxury and refinement, it seemed almost inevitable that pastel would fall from favour as the austere purpose and idealisation of Neoclassicism, and its associated politics, ascended.'[16] The impression that pastel had not been considered as a relevant art form for nearly a century was acknowledged by many reviewers of the first pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888. Indeed, one critic from *The Morning Post* stated that, 'there was a time when coloured crayons were held in considerable repute; but of late years they have well-nigh vanished as well from the memory as from the vision of the English public. Taste and fashion, not least potent in pictorial than other matters, seemed to have set against them.'[17] This observation demonstrates an acute awareness of the link between public visibility and fashion, which accounted for the apparent novelty of pastel in the late nineteenth century, a point which is discussed in greater detail in chapter five. There is also an underlying implication that pastel was still being used, despite the wider public being largely unaware of it. Certainly, pastel was regularly employed as a means of making coloured sketches or preparatory drawings and this formed the subject of an artists' manual

[16] Kenny, R., 'The Craze for Pastel', (7 April 2014), http://www.tate.org.uk/whats-on/tate-britain/display/bp-spotlight-craze-pastel/essay accessed 07/07/2016.
[17] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *The Morning Post*, (20 Oct 1888), p.5.

written by Henry Murray in 1860 for the colourmen Windsor and Newton. Here, he advised students of the medium that, 'if over the black markings the coloured crayon be lightly drawn, colour enough will be left to tint the object, without concealing or breaking up the Conté drawing beneath; the surface colour forming a light net-work tracery over the black.'[18]

This describes exactly how pastel was incorporated into the creative practice of several artists whose careers immediately preceded the pastel revival. So, for example, several proponents of the Pre-Raphaelite style used pastel for their preparatory drawings. Their painted works were characterised by pure colour, clarity of focus and precise detail, and pastel enabled these artists to design and perfect often very complex compositions in advance. For example, William Holman Hunt (1827-1910) who was a founding member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood which pioneered this style, began to use pastel as early as 1852 to work up a full colour sketch of his uncompromising face-on portrait of his young comrade Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) [fig.3]. This study is striking because of Hunt's loose and sometimes rapid handling of the medium particularly in Rossetti's jacket and the emerald green background. It reveals how Hunt fixed the expression and pose of his sitter while experimenting with colour contrasts to maximise the intensity of his stare. The flesh tones are much more delicately rendered with fine hatching but his inexperience with the medium caused some of the background colour to be smudged, giving Rossetti an almost eerie pallor. This was a mistake which Hunt was able to rectify in his painted

[18] Murray, H., *The Art of Drawing and Painting in Coloured Crayons*, (London: Windsor and Newton, 1860), p.50.

version of the work, again reinforcing the fact that pastel was a means of testing out ideas before completing a finished work.

The use of chalk or pastel was a long-established means of designing compositions or making studies of individual details. The texture of these friable media was valued by artists such as Albert Moore (1841-1893) who was associated with the Aesthetic Movement. He used black-and-white chalks enlivened by occasional touches of pastel to make numerous preparatory studies of the folds of neo-Classical draperies covering the female form, which would then be scaled up for the final composition.[19] In a piece like, *A study for 'A Quartet'*, 1869 [fig.4] it is possible to see that Moore's technique involved outlining the figures before using the warm mid-tone of the paper to act as the shadows in the intricate rendering of the women's garments. His sparing use of the medium created an almost ethereal impression of his models, heightening the translucency of the draped fabrics. This was an effect that was painstakingly replicated in the finished painting. Significantly, Moore's extensive use of chalks on tinted paper was said to have encouraged Whistler's initial experiments with pastel which he made after meeting Moore in 1865.[20] Indeed, Robert Getscher has explained how, 'the feeling of spontaneity in [Moore's] works inspired Whistler's search for the best ways of transmitting a sense of freshness and immediacy through colour.'[21] It is possible to see this process transcribed in one of Whistler's early pastel sketches, *Harmony in Gold and Brown*, c.1870 [fig.5] in which he uses a narrow range of yellow and orange tones to pick out the sinuous outlines of the draped figure. His colouring is carefully

[19] Baldry, A. L., *Albert Moore: His Life and Work*, (London: George & Sons, 1893), p.72.
[20] Way, T., *Memories of J. McNeill Whistler*, (London, John Lane, 1912), p.55.
[21] Getscher, 1991, p.23.

matched to the rich tones evident in the brown paper. The effect created is a radiant colour harmony in which the drawing of the figure becomes subsumed into background. Despite his importance for the development of Whistler's pastel technique, Moore resembled Hunt in that his use of the medium was part of his creative process and only rarely made visible to art audiences viewing the finished painting. What was crucially different about this practice was the access gained to another artist's work in his own studio. As Paula Gillett has shown, this previously private space was now often used to host open exhibitions or mentor students.[22] Inadvertently, however, by limiting their use of the medium to sketches and choosing to share this type of work with select audiences, artists like Hunt and Moore were contributing towards the status of pastel as a lesser, marginal and seemingly forgotten art form.

This perception was further endorsed by wider debates regarding the level of finish required for a piece to be considered complete and worthy of exhibition. Ruskin believed that true art should demonstrate the technical skill of the artist. The composition should be well designed, accurately rendered with fine brushwork, subtle gradations of tone and close attention to detail. In his method of drawing 'no line is ever changed or effaced: no experiment made; but every touch is placed with reference to all that succeed, as to all that have gone before; every addition takes its part'.[23] Such stringent evaluative criteria, when applied to the appearance of Hunt and Moore's sketches, meant that they would inevitably be viewed as unfinished and unworthy of the name of art. Furthermore, Ruskin discouraged the use of drawing media for

[22] Gillett, P., *Worlds of Art: Painters in Victorian Society*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1993), p.196.
[23] Ruskin, J. 'The Law of Perfectness', *Modern Painters*; **V**, (London, 1887), p.187.

independent artworks because, in his words, 'no pencil or chalk drawing is ever to be made for its own sake, as if pencil or chalk were beautiful materials. They are imperfect and bad materials and are only to be used for study.'[24] Thus, if pastel were to be interpreted as anything other than a sketching medium, it needed to be used with a high degree of precision. In Britain, this was achieved by using a technique called 'stippling' which involved sharpening the pastel sticks into a fine point and applying the medium in varying densities of small dashes to build up areas of light and shade in a unified manner.[25] An example of this meticulous drawing technique can be seen in a slightly later pastel work by Hunt entitled, *Portrait of the Late Thomas Combe,* 1860 [fig.6].[26] In it we can see that his lines are crisp and applied with such precision that the contrasts in the face are extremely delicate and refined. Another artist of the Pre-Raphaelite circle, Frederick Sandys (1829-1904), used coloured chalks extensively throughout the 1870s for portraits and figurative studies. His works in this medium were highly detailed and carefully rendered especially in the depiction of light reflected on skin. Unusually, Sandys exhibited two highly finished chalk portraits of Cyril Flower Esq. [fig.7] and Lady Dowager Buxton in the Royal Academy in 1878.[27] In the former, we see how Sandys's incredibly fine hatching creates a smooth appearance that belies the linear quality of the medium.

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[24] Ruskin J., 'Catalogue of the Rudimentary Series, 1872', in Cook and Wedderburn, (ed.), *The Works of John Ruskin*, XXI, (London: George Allen, 1906), p.258.
[25] 'The Royal Academy: French and English Systems of Art-Education', *The Athenaeum*, 1658, (6th Aug, 1859), pp.181-2.
[26] Hunt exhibited this piece in 1888, cat.no. 78 and his Portrait of Robert B. Martineau in 1889, cat.no. 129; see appendices A and B.
[27] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, MDCCCLXXVIII, The one hundred and tenth, [exh.cat.], (London: William Clowes and Sons, 14 Charing Cross), cat.nos. 1187 and 1231, pp.47-8.

However, appreciation for this type of work was limited amongst the younger generation of artists by a number of factors. Firstly, drawing was not prioritised in the Royal Academy's annual exhibition. The diminutive scale and delicacy of these works meant that they could not be advantageously displayed alongside the large-scale oil paintings which dominated the annual summer show. Consequently, despite the precision and skill evident in Hunt and Sandys's finely worked pieces they were exhibited in the minor galleries, separate from the main exhibition space.[28] This hierarchical format meant that on the rare occasions when contemporary pastels were displayed, they were invariably overlooked by critics and public alike. (The status of pastel in the Academy's display policy is further discussed in chapter three.) Secondly, young artists felt disenfranchised by the Academy's élitist membership and exhibition policies and were increasingly looking for artistic inspiration beyond its walls.[29] As they sought to position themselves in opposition to the Academy, it is crucial to note that the laborious stippling technique used in the pastel and chalk drawings of Hunt and Sandys, which was taught to all students in the Academy's Life Schools, was wholly rejected by the next generation. In an exchange of letters to the editor between 'an aged artist' and 'a young artist' the latter stated that a fellow student arriving in a Parisian atelier may have been trained in the British system and 'adept at "stippling" but as that is an accomplishment little appreciated…it profits her nothing.'[30] Equally, R. A. M. Stevenson recalled that Stott had trained in 'the English stippling in chalk

[28] In the 1870s chalk drawings were arranged in galleries no.IX and X but in 1882 the RA built two extensions to the front of the building. These galleries became the Watercolour, Black and White and Architectural Drawings rooms. However, their position off the main gallery space meant that these works were now physically separate from the rest of the exhibition. See, *Ibid*., 1877 and 1882, plan of the galleries [fig.60].
[29] Trodd, C., 'The Royal Academy and the Commerce of Discourse', in Denis, R. C and Trodd, C. (ed.) *Art and the Academy in the Nineteenth Century*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.182.
[30] A Young Artist, 'Government Schools of Art,' *The Musical World*, (5 Jan 1884), p.12.

which he was bound to forget at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.'[31] Such a comment suggests that this largely outmoded use of pastel had little influence on the direction of the pastel movement and served only as a point of departure for artists seeking out new means of expression to challenge established artistic practices.

The Impact of Contemporary French Pastel Art in Britain

British artists did not act in isolation and it was noted on the eve of the first large-scale pastel exhibition held at the Grosvenor Gallery, London, in late October 1888 that,

> 'It was an excellent idea to collect nearly three hundred examples of a mode of painting which, although never quite obsolete even in this country, was from the beginning of the century more or less in abeyance everywhere, till several distinguished Frenchmen began to exhibit pastels at the Salon...The success of the French stimulated their British friends, and pastel painting has experienced a sudden development on this side of the Channel.'[32]

For this reporter, the seemingly overnight appearance of the pastel movement in Britain was the direct result of artistic influences from the near Continent. It is certainly true that many young artists sought to expand their artistic horizons by enrolling in foreign ateliers and experiencing the congenial atmosphere of the artists' colonies. Indeed, Stott and Clausen both studied in Paris and spent several months working and travelling in Northern France whilst Armstrong chose to study in Munich. Clausen and Armstrong also visited Belgium and the Netherlands. The young Guthrie alone remained in Britain, on the advice of Academician John Pettie (1839-1893) who offered to supervise his studies personally during the time he was based in London.[33] However, the latest artworks from Paris, together with a host of pieces by foreign

[31] Stevenson, R. A. M., 'William Stott, of Oldham', *The Studio*, (Oct 1894), vol. IV, no.19, p.3.
[32] 'The Grosvenor Exhibition of Pastel Pictures', *The Athenaeum*, 3183, (27 Oct 1888), p.560.
[33] Caw, 1932, p.7.

emigrés living in the UK and returning British artists trained on the Continent were readily available for young artists to study in exhibitions and collections at home. A critic who was assessing what he described as the pulse of English art in the early 1880s astutely observed, 'the novelties in theory which have electrified the French painters within the last decade – the Impressionist craze, the Japanese mania and the rage for ultrarealistic treatment…[have] borne fruit which has a more positive element of good in it.'[34]

The clear implication of such a comment is that contemporary French art trends had a direct bearing on the emergence of new styles, techniques and subject matter in Britain. There was now a focus on contemporaneity, truth to nature and expressive effects. Certainly, it was noted in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* that the 'art of to-day is mobile, restless and fleeting.'[35] Significantly, many of the French artists who were recognised by British students as sources of stylistic inspiration were also early proponents of pastel. Prominent among these figures was Millet who had been lionised in Sensier's highly influential and widely read 1881 biography, for his ability to use pastel to capture the true character of rural life.[36] His pastel technique was characterised by closely observed details, an assured touch and a fine feeling for colour. However, the full extent of his pastel oeuvre was only recognised after his

[34] 'The Pulse of English Art in 1883', *Macmillan's Magazine*, (Aug 1883), pp.227-8.
[35] 'The State of Art in France', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, (April 1884), vol.135, no.822, p.431.
[36] '*Les dessins de Millet n'étaient pas alors ce que furent plus tard ces étonnants sujets rehaussés de pastel et, plus tard encore, ces pages admirables qu'on vit après sa mort; mais déjà l'artiste était ce qu'il ne cessa d'être, un homme qui trouve le caractère fondamental des choses de la campagne et en rend la physionomie avec un style particulier et une personnalité saisissante'* Sensier, A., *La Vie et L'oeuvre de J.-F. Millet*, (Paris: A Quantin, 1881), p.150.

death in January 1875 when there was a large sale of his studio works held in May at the Hôtel Drouot in Paris.[37] This was immediately followed by a month-long exhibition and sale of 100 of his drawings and pastels from the collection of Emile Gavet, which attracted the attention of the British press. Thus, Philip Burty writing in *The Academy* stated that, 'I regard it [the exhibition] as one of the most important facts of the history of our contemporary school – a revelation analogous to that disclosed by the general exhibition of the studies and drawings of Eugène Delacroix.'[38] These sales afforded art dealers and collectors the opportunity to import and display examples of Millet's pastel works in Britain. Thus, in 1877 a pastel by Millet entitled, *The Sea from the Cliffs at Grenville*, c.1870-1, loaned by Georges Petit, was displayed at the Grosvenor Gallery winter exhibition.[39] Although most of the reviews for this exhibition focused on the section dedicated to the deceased British School masters, many critics recognised Millet's work as being of high merit and worthy of further examination by those attending the show.[40]

At the same time, Clausen recalled that during his student days in London he had frequently visited the gallery of Charles Deschamps, on Bond Street because he was 'the first to show the works of Millet, Corot, Degas, Manet, and others at that time. There was always something good to be seen there, and we were cordially welcomed, for he was really interested in art, and most encouraging to us students.'[41] Whilst it is

[37] Bacou, R., *Millet: One Hundred Drawings*, (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1975), p.18.
[38] Burty, Ph., 'The Drawings of J. F. Millet', *The Academy*, (24 April 1875), p.435.
[39] *Winter Exhibition of Drawings by The Old Masters and Watercolour Drawings by Deceased Artists of the British School*, The Grosvenor Gallery, 1877-8, cat.no. 400, p.39.
[40] 'The Grosvenor Gallery – Winter Exhibition', *The Athenaeum*, (8 Dec 1877), no.2615, p.740.
[41] Clausen, 1931, pp.17-18.

not known what specific works he encountered during these visits, it is clear that Millet had a significant impact on Clausen's experiments with pastel. Indeed, in one of Clausen's earliest complete works in this medium he attempted his own version of a motif Millet had frequently depicted, the shepherd at his sheepfold [figs.8 and 9]. Clausen imitates the French artist's feeling for atmospheric lighting effects by creating a glowing orb in a pale blue sky. Both artists apply faint lines to pick out the fencing against the landscape. These are then contrasted with their soft and shadowy handling of the sheep which gives a sense of movement to the scene. Clausen makes the subject his own, however, by using a brighter palette accented by the warm mid-tone of the brown paper. His technique is a little clumsy compared with Millet's delicate, directional strokes, indicating the younger artist's relative inexperience with the medium.

It is noteworthy that Millet has also been recognised as one of Guthrie's stylistic influences, and certainly he could have seen Millet's work in exhibitions while he was living in London during the summer of 1878 and 1879. Equally, on his return to Scotland, Glasgow galleries like Thomas Lawrie & Son, were displaying and selling modern French pictures in the early 1880s, including works by Millet.[42] His unique style of depicting rural life proved popular with Scottish collectors who regularly loaned their pieces to local exhibitions. Indeed, from 1880 to 1883 the winter exhibition of the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts featured at least one work by

[42] Fowle, 2008, p.25.

Millet.[43] Furthermore, Millet's aforementioned pastel, *The Sheepfold*, 1868 [fig.8] was lent by Glaswegian collector James Donald to the French and Dutch loan section of the Edinburgh International Exhibition in 1886.[44] Frederick Wedmore commented in his review of this exhibition that 'the pastel of a sheepfold bathed in brilliant moonlight, is a noble example of Millet in his most tender and poetic mood.'[45] The opportunities to access Millet's pastels, make it possible that Guthrie's adoption of the medium while he was working at Cockburnspath in Berwickshire between 1883 and 1884 was inspired by the French artist.[46] However, the lack of known examples of Guthrie's early work makes a clear comparison between these two artists' pastel techniques very difficult. Thus, whilst there is some evidence to suggest that Guthrie's *Women Working in a Field*, [fig.10] from his 1888 series is indebted to Millet's depiction of rural workers absorbed within the landscape, the two artists' handling of the subject differed significantly. Guthrie, like Clausen, applied the pastel in much heavier, expressive strokes in marked contrast to Millet's fine hatching and his use of colour was also much bolder. Regardless of the differences in Clausen and Guthrie's personal interpretations of aspects of Millet's pastel art, the frequent access which they had to examples of his work as well as their reference to him as a direct influence, reveal that the promotion of Millet's pastel works in Britain in the 1880s had a significant impact on some artists' decisions to adopt the medium at this time.

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[43] 1880, cat.no. 31, *Shearing-Sheep*; 1881, cat.no. 35, *Going Home*; 1882, cat.no. 28, *A Boat at Sea*; 1883 cat.no. 38 *Going to Work*, Billcliffe, R., *The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1861-1989*, (Glasgow: Woodend Press, 1992), vol.3, p.231.
[44] *Memorial Catalogue of the French and Dutch Loan Collection, Edinburgh International Exhibition,* 1886, (Edinburgh: University Press by T&A Constable, 1888), p.56.
[45] Wedmore, F., 'The Edinburgh International Exhibition,' *The Academy,* (22 May 1886), no.733, p.368.
[46] Caw, 1932, p.51.

In addition to Millet there was a growing recognition of other more avant-garde artists who had been gaining critical attention on the Continent during the 1870s. A crucial intercessor for introducing their work to British audiences was visionary art dealer Paul Durand-Ruel. Anne Robins has explained how the exhibition of Impressionist works which he organised at the Dowdeswells' Gallery in 1883, 'aimed to present these artists as a coherent, cohesive group, reinforcing their collective identity – something London had not yet had a chance to see and assess.'[47] The importance of this show is evidenced by the fact that each of my four chosen artists cited at least one of the contributors as an influence on his or her decision to adopt pastel. Most commonly mentioned was Degas, who had been recognised by Philip Burty as 'a painter of extreme sensibility and of not less extreme boldness…His eye is true. The vigorous stroke of his pencil and the truth of his colour indications show the talent of a master.'[48] He had eight pieces displayed in the 1883 exhibition, only one of which *Femme dans une Loge* [fig.11] was identified as a pastel in the catalogue.[49] In this work, Degas used opalescent shades of yellow and orange to recreate the artificial lighting in the theatre. He also chose to leave much of the translucent, white paper showing in the face of his female model, eerily giving her the appearance of an apparition. Degas's sketchy style was lambasted by the reviewer from *Punch* magazine. His amusing telegraphese and the accompanying cartoons of the pictures, captioned by revised, satirical titling, have enabled Richard Thomson (2005) to locate

[47] Robins, A., 'Durand-Ruel's Conquest of London', in Patry, S., (ed.), *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the Modern Art Market*, (London: National Art Gallery, 2015), p.185.
[48] Burty, Ph., 'The Exhibition of the "Intransigents"', *The Academy*, (15 April 1876), p.364.
[49] *Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings and Pastels by Members of "La Société des Impressionistes"*, [exh.cat.], Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, 133 New Bond Street, (Chiswick Press, 1883).

two further pastels at the 1883 show.[50] These are *Chapeaux*, c.1883 and *Femmes Appuyées sur une Rampe*, c.1883. What so astounded the reviewer was the unfinished aspect of the works with their 'melancholy colouring' and unusual angle of view. He could see nothing in these so-called 'mistaken impressions' to commend to the viewer. For the critic Frederick Wedmore, however, it was vital to look beyond the pictures' immediate appearance and engage with Degas's command of the medium. Thus, he remarks that, 'in pastel, too, in spite of the brevity of his process, the rapidity of his work, he attains a success in the indication of texture, which is not only high in its degree, but of quite the finest and most dignified kind.'[51] This assessment was later endorsed by Caw who noted that 'in the hands of Degas, [pastel] assumed an importance it had not hitherto possessed. He made it the vehicle of many remarkable works, masterly in execution and serious in artistic intention, if dealing with bye-ways in life.'[52] At the same time, Stott's biographer, Alice Corkran stated that 'Degas was his true master'.[53]

The pre-eminence of Degas is always commented on, but this should not detract from other artists associated with Impressionism, whose experiments with pastel came to the attention of their British counterparts. Indeed, Clausen identified Edouard Manet (1832-1883) as one of the artists whose works he had encountered at Deschamps's

[50] 'Mistaken Impressions,' *Punch, or the London Charivari*, (5 May 1883), p.208; Thomson, R., 'Modernity, Figure, Metropolis: Importing the New Painting into Britain in the 1870s' Robins and Thomson, *Degas, Sickert and Toulouse-Lautrec; London and Paris 1870-1910*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2005), pp.55-6.
[51] Wedmore, F., 'The Impressionists,' *Fortnightly Review*, (Jan 1883), p.80.
[52] Caw, 1932, p.52.
[53] Corkran, A., 'William Stott of Oldham,' *The Scottish Art Review*, (Apr 1889), vol.1, no.13, p.320.

Gallery.[54] His work in the medium was later mentioned by Caw in Guthrie's biography when he stated that, 'Manet essayed it and, finding that by broad and swift and light handling he could attain felicitously the blond tones and clear untroubled colour he delighted in, produced a considerable number of fascinating pastels'.[55] Despite this much later assessment of Manet's pastel works, it is difficult to appreciate how readily available they were as he did not exhibit them frequently in Britain or France and the scale of his achievement in pastel only became known after the sale of his studio works in May 1883. The three works by Manet which were included in the 1883 show in London were also unlikely to have been pastels given the high price quoted in the exhibition catalogue.[56] By contrast, Giuseppe de Nittis (1846-1884) who was a contributor to the early Impressionist exhibitions in Paris, did exhibit his pastel works in Britain. For example, in 1879 he held an exhibition at Mr Marsden's Galleries, King Street, London, featuring thirty of his works many of which were pastels of street scenes in Paris or portraits of his contemporaries.[57] The following year, art critic, P. G. Hamerton noted that with this exhibition, 'M. de Nittis seemed to take the public by surprise. Since then some of our own artists have essayed the same style with considerable success.'[58] This comment seems to suggest that De Nittis's work in pastel was well regarded and highly influential for artists in Britain. He would also go on to exhibit three more large-scale pastel works at the Dudley Gallery in June 1884.[59] Yet, it is noteworthy that despite the strong presence of his pastels in the UK,

[54] Clausen, 1931; Manet, *Argenteuil, Les Canotiers*, 1874, oil on canvas, was exhibited in Deschamps's Gallery in 1876, 'The Deschamps Gallery', *The Academy*, (29 April 1876), p.416.
[55] Caw, 1932, p.52.
[56] *La Société des Impressionistes*, [exh.cat.], Dowdeswells', (Chiswick, 1883), cat.nos. 41, 46 and 54.
[57] Comyns Carr, J., 'Pictures by J. [sic] de Nittis', *The Academy*, (5 Jul 1879), p.17.
[58] Hamerton, P. G., 'Art Chronicle', *The Portfolio*, (Jan 1880), **11**, p.155.
[59] 'Two Minor Exhibitions', *The Standard*, (26 May 1884), p.2.

few of the reviewers for the 1888 exhibition of pastels acknowledged him as a progenitor of the British pastel movement.

In a wider sense though, growing awareness of such Continental stylistic innovation encouraged artists disenchanted with art education in Britain, to seek out opportunities to study abroad. As Guthrie's friend James Paterson would later recall, 'the eyes of all Europe at present [are] so uniformly directed to France, as possessing the most vital art, and the best methods of instruction attainable…the earnest student follows the current of his time in his endeavours after excellence.'[60] The recognition that the style of teaching in Britain was substandard even led some British artists to recommend foreign study to their students. For example, Edwin Long (1829-1891) told Clausen upon completing his scholarship at the South Kensington School that, 'you can't learn drawing or painting here: it's not taken seriously. Go abroad.'[61] Roger Brown has also suggested that Stott may have been encouraged to further his education in France by the Francophile-leanings of his teacher, the Manchester School artist, John Houghton Hague (1842-1934) who had himself spent several months at the artists' colony at Pont-Aven in 1872.[62] Such personal recommendation exerted a powerful hold on a young artist's expectations of the French studio-teaching-system. Of course, the quality of the learning experience was entirely contingent upon the one dedicated maître who directed the studio. British students, frustrated with the instruction received from non-practising artists at the RA and other private drawing schools,

[60] Paterson, J., 'Art Student Life', MS, lecture given in St Andrew's Hall on 15th March 1907, GUL, acc. no. MS Paterson LQ1.
[61] Clausen, 1931, p.18.
[62] Brown, 2003, p.11; Thomson, S., *Manchester's Victorian Art Scene and its unrecognised artists*, (Warrington: Manchester Art Press, 2007), p.79.

deliberately selected ateliers which they felt dovetailed with their personal requirements.[63] Thus, Stott's commitment to drawing as a means to connect with his subject meant that he chose the studio of Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824-1904) where students were taught 'to study nature scrupulously, especially in drawing, in composing sketches, and not to get down to painting a picture until after they had their trade in hand as perfectly as possible.'[64] Clausen also had ambitions to join Gérôme's studio when he first arrived in Paris in 1876 but it was closed at the time. A few months later he entered the Académie Julian for drawing instruction from an artist who similarly espoused the principles of Classicism, William-Adolphe Bouguereau (1825-1905).[65] The decision of both Stott and Clausen to select as their teachers those who held drawing in such high regard, may have played a role in their initial decision to experiment with the expressive possibilities of a graphic medium such as pastel.

Yet, it was not just in the construction of a work that drawing was prioritised in France. In contrast to Britain where this activity was limited to the private world of the studio, the Paris Salon provided a forum where artists could showcase their talents across a variety of media. For those who had not had the opportunity to study examples of French pastel art in Britain, a visit to the Salon would have revealed the scale of the medium's popularity in this country. Many of the artists whose paintings were admired on both sides of the Channel during the late 1870s and early 1880s also

[63] Milner, J., *The Studios of Paris: The Capital of Art in the Late Nineteenth Century*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), p.20; Lamb, W. R. M., *The Royal Academy: A short history of its foundation and development to the present day*, (London: Alexander Maclehose & Co., 1935), p.98.
[64] Moreau-Vathier, C., (1906), 'Gérôme, peinture et sculpture, Paris' quoted in Ackerman, G., *The Life and Work of Jean-Léon Gérôme*, (London 1986), p.160.
[65] Clausen, 1931, p.19.

exhibited drawings in the Salon show. Exhibition policy was such that drawings and paintings were not displayed together but, far from being side-lined, drawing was prioritised as an art form in its own right. In addition to examples of Classical drawings of nudes by atelier maîtres such as Gérôme and Bouguereau, there were a number of works on paper which demonstrated alternative types of drawing and drawing practice. Some of these pieces were submitted by former pupils of Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran (1802-1897) who outlined his system of working from memory in his *L'Education de la mémoire pittoresque*, (1848). In this book he described how drawing in front of the model merely encouraged mimesis whereas studying the object line by line until it had been committed to memory and only then transcribing it to the page helped to develop the artist's powers of imagination and interpretation. In addition, he encouraged the artist to seek out materials that matched his or her mental visualisation of an object or scene.[66] His method would inspire artists to approach their materials and subject matter in a highly personal way. Correctness and accuracy were not as important as artistic expression. Inadvertently, the theories of Lecoq de Boisbaudran would help to foster enthusiasm for pastel in France because the combination of line and colour allowed for a more immediate expression of the artist's vision whilst the soft texture was ideally suited to the exploration of more ambiguous aspects of a scene recalled from memory rather than direct observation.

[66] Lecoq de Boisbaudran, H., *L'Education de la mémoire pittoresque*, (Paris, 1848), English trans., London, 1911, p.4; Chu, Petra ten-Doesschate, 'Lecoq de Boisbaudran and Memory Drawing: A Teaching Course between Idealism and Naturalism', *The European Realist Tradition*, (Bloomington, 1982), pp.242-3.

Among Lecoq de Boisbaudran's well-known students was Lhermitte who was famed for his expressive use of charcoal (*fusain*) in which he eliminated the half-tones and created strong contrasts in order to render what Hamel has described as 'the ways in which light seems to chisel faceted surfaces into mass.'[67] Lhermitte displayed several pieces in this medium in Britain and at the Salon during the late 1870s and early 1880s but he did not limit himself to monochromatic effects.[68] He also experimented with pastel as a means to combine his strong hatching and sculptural rendering of form with a vivid colour palette. Thus, in his piece entitled, *Maternité*, 1876, [fig.12] he employs frenetic strokes of pastel to suggest the jagged stubble of the reaped crop and the urgent movement of the peasant as he takes a drink. He also employs bold colour contrasts between his earthy tones and the almost azure sky. His sentimental treatment of the subject was fairly typical of the accepted forms of Naturalism which found ready support in the Salon.[69] Lhermitte was also known to be very generous with his time, regularly opening up his studio to the younger generation of artists, including Stott. The exact circumstances of Stott's introduction to Lhermitte are not recorded but we do know that the pair were familiar with one another in 1881 when Stott presented the artist with an early pastel entitled, *Bridge at Gretz* (sic).[70] This gift is mentioned in Stott's ledger (1896) and records his first use of pastel for a work which he considered important enough to document. Unfortunately, the piece is now lost and so it is

[67] Hamel, M. M., (1974), *Léon Lhermitte*, [ex.cat.], Oshkosh, Wisc, Paine Art Centre, p.16.
[68] Janson, H. W., compiled, *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, 1673 to 1881*, (London: Garland, 1978), 1879 pp.160 and 348; 1880 pp.230 and 495; 1881 p.286.
[69] Thomson, R., *Art of the Actual: Naturalism and Style in Early Third Republic France 1880-1900,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), p.103.
[70] Stott, notebook, p.12. Stott may have met Lhermitte through the intercession of British etcher, John Heseltine (1843-1929) who was living 'chez M. Lhermitte, rue de Buci' according to the 1879 Salon catalogue. This theory is supported by the fact that Stott gave a pastel to Heseltine at the same time as he gave one to Lhermitte.

impossible to assess whether or not his handling of the medium reflected his training in the stippling technique, the teaching of Gérôme or the unique method of Lhermitte.

Roger Brown has speculated that Lhermitte's emphasis on visible linearity and an almost brash use of colour was unlikely to have influenced Stott's developing sense of style which was evident in his work in other media. He suggests instead that the ethereal pastel landscapes of another Lecoq de Boisbaudran pupil, Jean-Charles Cazin (1840-1901) were more influential on Stott's stylistic development.[71] Certainly, Cazin was enjoying considerable notoriety at the Salon at this time. His paintings *Ishmael*, 1879 and *Tobias and the Angel*, 1878 had received a great deal of attention in both the French and British reviews because of his ability to synthesise the figures with their environment, imbuing the works with a pervasive sense of melancholy.[72] This effect was achieved by creating a soft harmony of tones applied across the canvas in thin layers. His pastels from this period were similarly atmospheric and it is possible that he may have perfected his subtle, layering technique in this medium before transferring it to his larger scale works. In a piece like, *Paysage de Neige*, [undated], [fig.13] Cazin uses white, cream and brown to render the leaden sky above the snow-covered ground. The pastel tints are lightly applied and then subtly blended across the entire paper surface. In this way, his pastel technique was almost the antithesis of Lhermitte's. It is possible that Stott could have seen Cazin's pastels which were sent to the Salon between 1879 and 1881.[73] Alternatively, he may have been introduced to Cazin by Lhermitte who had remained friends with the artist since their student days and had

[71] Brown, 2003, p.27.
[72] Pattison, E. F. S., 'The Salon of 1880', *The Academy*, (22 May 1880), p.390.
[73] Salon 1879 cat.no.3312, Salon 1880 cat.no. 4337 and Salon 1881 cat.no. 2578.

even painted Cazin's portrait in 1879. Strangely, Stott does not list Cazin as a primary influence or record meeting him but the close parallels between their cool tonalism, careful blending of the pastel pigment and the emotive quality of their landscapes suggest that Stott had more than a passing admiration for his style.

Of course there were opportunities for students in Paris to move beyond the teachings of their respective maîtres and the Salon exhibitions. The art market in London as well as in Paris had numerous independent art dealers who hosted shows for individuals or groups seeking publicity for their work outside the Salon format. Indeed, the Impressionist artists who had featured in the 1883 show organised by Durand-Ruel in London and who were the focus of frequent discussion in the British art press, evolved as a movement over the course of eight exhibitions held in Paris between 1874 and 1886. As Belinda Thomson has argued, these artists were not united under a common artistic doctrine but rather came together in order to have their work displayed in a sympathetic environment.[74] Significantly, Ruth Berson's analysis of the catalogues reveals that seven out of the eight Impressionist exhibitions featured pastels despite changing venues, varied display arrangements and the shifting prominence of certain artists as the dynamics of the group altered. In the 1879 show four of the fifteen contributors displayed work in pastel alongside their paintings and pastels accounted for just under ten percent of the overall hang.[75] The most frequent exhibitors of works in pastel were Degas, Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), Berthe Morisot (1841-1895) and

[74] Thomson, B., *Impressionism: Origins, Practice, Reception*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 2000), p.123.
[75] Berson, R., *The new painting: impressionism, 1874-1886*, vol.2, (San Francisco: Fine Art Museum of San Francisco, 1996), pp.105-120.

Gustave Caillebotte (1848-1894). However, from this group, the most consistent pastellist was Degas who, as previously mentioned was recognised by Burty and Wedmore as a radical innovator and master of his medium. He exhibited more than 40 pastels over the course of the Impressionist exhibitions.[76] The subjects of these works included dancers, portraits of his acquaintances and intimate female nudes. Degas was so prolific that his pastel oeuvre has been the subject of several studies including that of Richard Kendall who has suggested that he favoured the medium because it, 'invited flamboyance where charcoal imposed restraint, tactility in place of flatness, the hues of sensation rather than the abstraction of form.'[77] It seems likely that it was while in France that Stott was able to appreciate the scale of Degas's achievement in this medium either by visiting these shows or by making the acquaintance of the artist himself. Indeed, it is recorded in Stott's notebook that he made a portrait of Degas in 1884 and whilst this may not have been the exact moment they met, the strength of their friendship was indirectly acknowledged in Whistler's correspondence from 1889.[78]

Despite Degas's pervading influence on the work of Stott and his peers, some contemporary commentators condemned the work of the Impressionist group as vulgar, lacking in finish and devoid of artistic merit. For example, in 1879 Gérôme encouraged his students to view the Impressionist show because he believed they would be so amused by it that they would be cured of any potential radicalism in their

[76] *Ibid.*
[77] Kendall, 1996, p.89.
[78] Stott, MS, 1896, p.20; Letter from Whistler to Edgar Degas, 12 January 1889, Whistler correspondence, system no. 00816, http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/, accessed 09/07/16.

own art.[79] Gérôme's comment, which was specifically directed at Caillebotte, may have dissuaded some British students from visiting the Impressionist shows and cautioned them against experimenting with some of the more progressive techniques in their own works. Thus, in terms of promoting pastel to artists who were more moderate in their stylistic innovation, an important role was played by the Société de Pastellistes Français which was founded in 1885 by Roger Ballu. The inaugural show was organised in a comparative format, displaying the work of deceased pastellists alongside the work of contemporary artists so that audiences could appreciate both the longevity of this art form in France as well as changes in technique and subject matter. Works were contributed by 22 living artists, including Lhermitte and Cazin and by the lately deceased Giuseppe de Nittis.[80]

In addition, some of the artists who exhibited at the Salon and the Impressionist shows were also inaugural members of this new venture. Among their number was Jean-François Raffaëlli (1850-1924) who submitted ten works to the Société that were described by Octave Mirbeau as 'all quite charming.' He particularly enjoyed 'his Parisian landscapes where his imagination likes to stir in the special light and garish air of Paris, the swarming crowds and street life. Mr. Raffaelli [sic] has a very keen sense of *modernity*.'[81] This is aptly conveyed in his work entitled *Bohemians at the*

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[79] '*Il est bien amusant M. Caillebotte, et j'engage vivement les gens atteints de spleen à s'administrer une heure de sa peinture huit jours durant; ceux qui ne seraient pas radicalement guéris après cela seront vraiment incurables.*' Gérôme, 'Un Courrier de Paris: Une Exposition d'artistes indépendants', *L'Univers illustré*, (26 April 1879).

[80] *Courrier de l'art: chronique hebdomadaire des ateliers, des musées, des expositions*, (02 Jan 1885), p.139.

[81] '*ils sont presque tous charmants…j'aime aussi ses paysages parisiens où son imagination se plaît à remuer, dans la lumière spéciale et l'air criard de Paris, le grouillement des foules et la vie des rues. M. Raffaelli est doué très vivement du sens de la modernité.*' Mirbeau, O., 'Les Pastellistes Français' *La France*, 9 Apr 1885, repr. *Des Artistes*, (Paris: Ernest Flammarion,1922), pp.36-7.

Café, 1885 [fig.14] where the artist has chosen to mount his paper onto canvas in order to heighten the painterly quality of the medium.[82] The effect is almost monochromatic save for his occasional use of yellow in the poster, chair and complexion of the figures. This imbues the scene with an air of squalor commonly associated with the alcoholism and destitution of bohemian life in Paris. The seventeen pastels by De Nittis were also modern life subjects, but his focus was on portraits of his circle of artist, poet and writer friends, set in their fashionably decorated apartments. His pastel technique was particularly notable because he worked on a large-scale, incorporating a level of detail not normally associated with the medium. For example, in a dramatic portrait of his wife dated 1882 [fig.15], he creates layers of different textures which itemise not only her satin gown and the richly embroidered table cloth but also the powdery snow in the background, viewed through the window. This involved an exploration of the full technical possibilities of the medium from fine lines to softly blended areas of pure colour. Both Raffaëlli and De Nittis had exhibited several works in Britain prior to this date but this was the first opportunity to see the full range of their mastery of pastel in an exhibition dedicated to the medium. The diversity of the display allowed British artists to appreciate the medium's scope for technical and stylistic experimentation, particularly for modern subjects. Significantly, this organisation was recognised as a key influence on the development of the trend for pastel in Britain and as a result its members were invited to contribute towards the first pastel show in London. Indeed, it was conceded by one reporter that many of the best examples in this exhibition were French and that these pictures, 'apart from their intrinsic value as works of Art, are instructive, in as much as they clearly show the capabilities of the method and its

[82] Jean-François Raffaëlli, *Bohèmes au Café*, 1885, exhibited at Société de Pastellistes Français, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, 1885, cat.no. 213.

limitations.'[83] (For further analysis on the Société as an organisational model for the first Grosvenor Gallery exhibition see chapter 3).

American Artists and the British Pastel Revival

The work of contemporary French pastel artists may have been the most significant impetus for the growth of the revival in Britain but both nations were preceded in the organisation of a professional body to support the medium by their American counterparts. These artists had all trained in Europe and shared a common interest in adapting the styles and techniques which they had encountered there, into an American context.[84] In particular, they admired the higher-keyed palette, the subject matter and immediacy of contemporary French art. Diane Pilgrim has argued that they adopted pastel because it was 'a perfect vehicle for conveying this mood of intimacy, spontaneity and a concern with the effects of light and atmosphere.'[85] Amongst their number were William Merritt Chase (1849-1916) and Robert Blum (1857-1903). Recognised as leading exponents of pastel art, they both exerted a powerful influence on Armstrong's technique and style. It is noteworthy that the contribution of such American artists towards the fervour for pastel in Britain was almost entirely ignored in the reviews for the 1888 pastel show. This was because American artists who were working in America rarely had the opportunity to exhibit in Britain or Europe, especially if they were not particularly well established. Thus, despite Mary L. Sullivan's suggestion that the influence of the American Society of Painters in Pastel on artistic trends was "far-reaching", she fails to give any supplementary evidence to

[83] 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' *The Graphic*, (27 Oct 1888), p.443.
[84] Bourguignon, K., 'Painting Impressionism in America,' in *American Impressionism: A New Vision, 1880-1900*, [exh.cat.], (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, Hazan, 2014), p.38.
[85] Pilgrim, 1978, p.44.

support her case other than the subsequent formation of similar societies dedicated to the promotion of pastel in France and Britain.[86] Yet, many tangible links were formed between British and American artists either when they studied together in Europe or when such artists were based in Britain.

Taking Armstrong as an example, she was born in Kingston, Canada in 1859 before moving to London in the early 1870s. She lived with her uncle Dr Thomas Hawksley in Chelsea and began to attend art classes at the South Kensington School. She maintained her links with America, however, by opting to travel to New York over the course of three winters between 1878 and 1880 where she joined the Art Students' League of New York. What particularly attracted her was that the teachers in this student-led organisation 'were young painters, but newly returned from the art centres of Europe, and brimming over with enthusiasm'.[87] So for example, her instructor, Chase had trained in Munich under Karl Theodor von Piloty (1826-1886) who taught his students to work with strong contrast, a darkened palette and bravura brushstrokes. Susanne Böller has shown that the Bavarian capital was popular with American artists who comprised over 70% of the foreign cohort.[88] Significantly for the present discussion, Chase was also a prolific pastellist. He began to work extensively in the medium after he became a founder member of the American Society of Painters in Pastel in 1882 which is discussed in further detail in chapter 3. He produced seventeen

[86] Sullivan, M. L., 'The Society of Painters in Pastel and the International Revival of the Medium', in Bolger, D., [et al.], 1989, p.11.
[87] Birch, 1906, p.59.
[88] Böller, S., 'American Artists at the Academy of Fine Arts in Munich 1850-1920' in Christian Fuhrmeister [et al.] (ed.), *American Artists in Munich: Artist Migration and Cultural Exchange Processes*, (Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2009), p.45.

works for the inaugural exhibition, held in March 1884, featuring several interior studies which included, *In the Studio*, 1883-4, [fig.16]. Ronald Pisano has pointed out that in these works Chase 'delighted in the richly layered, full-bodied use of pastel, which no doubt reflected, at least in part, his Munich training in the use of oil paint, whereby students were taught to use fully loaded brushes to attack bare canvases.'[89] It is possible that Armstrong learned about the exhibition and the latest development in her former teacher's oeuvre as she met Chase in the summer of 1884 while they were both working in Zandvoort in the Netherlands.[90]

Armstrong's awareness of the burgeoning popularity of pastel from within the ranks of her American colleagues is supported by the fact that Chase was joined on this trip to the Netherlands by Blum who had been appointed president of the American Society of Painters in Pastel.[91] She described Blum as a 'brilliant draughtsman' which suggests that she had the opportunity to see examples of his drawings, although we do not know for certain that these were executed in pastel.[92] Yet, given his positon as the leader of a new professional body designed to promote the medium it is probable that he would have taken a set of pastels with him at this time. Blum had adopted pastel after studying the latest works in this medium by Whistler while they were lodging together at Casa Jankowitz in Venice in 1880. Whistler's daring pastel technique, discussed in more detail below, proved to be a revelation for the small circle of

[89] Pisano, R. G., *The Complete Catalogue of Known and Documented Work by William Merritt Chase*, vol.1, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p.xv.
[90] Birch, 1906, p.66.
[91] Sullivan, 1989, pp.7-8.
[92] *Op.cit.*

American artists who gathered around him.[93] As a result of Whistler's influence, Blum's use of the medium was characterised by a lightness of touch and evanescent quality not evident in Chase's more 'painterly' pastels from this period. Indeed, this is particularly apparent in Blum's, *Gossiping Place in Venice*, 1882, [fig.17]. It is possible that Armstrong's encounter with two such diverse proponents of the pastel medium may have encouraged her to experiment with its unique properties. An as yet untraced pastel entitled, *Ardent Prayer*, may have been her earliest use of the medium and its religious theme may derive from the almshouses on which all three artists were focused during their time in the Netherlands.[94]

Despite the undoubted influence of Chase and Blum, Armstrong's first viewing of modern pastels occurred while she was studying at the Munich Art Academy. She had been encouraged to go there to further her artistic education by Chase's example but her experience of this institution was less than positive as shown in her assertion that,

> '…in the recognised art training of the schools, I found my sex to be a perpetual disadvantage; also in the local work of the exhibitions there seemed at that time…to be little that was inspiring; so that I look back on my five-month sojourn in Munich as on a period for the most part of depression and discouragement'.[95]

This impression is compounded by the fact that the only positive comments about her time in Germany were focused on her visit to the studio of the American artist, J. Frank Currier (1843-1909) who had settled in a small village just outside Munich. She was particularly struck by his numerous evocative pastel landscapes of the local area. In

[93] MacDonald, 2001, pp.28-9.
[94] Cook, J. [et al.], 2000, p.176; Birch, 1906, p.66.
[95] Birch, 1906, p.61.

her account she recalled how the studio was, 'littered with drawings, for the most part instinct with a nervous and passionate appreciation of the glory of sunsets over low-lying fields, and noble woodland studies, where the interlacing boughs of wind-blown trees were drawn with a tense and masterly energy.'[96] In a typical example of this type of work, *Landscape near Schleissheim,* c.1880, [fig.18] Currier records the immediacy of the constantly changing landscape, observed through the train window, as he travelled between Munich and Schleissheim.[97] In order to capture the dynamic of such a viewing experience, Currier employs a horizontal format with mottled grey and blue sky accented by areas of exposed ground, suggesting impending darkness or the encroachment of a storm. The fact that Armstrong had an opportunity to study the highly innovative works of an American pastellist working in Europe demonstrates how ideas about new ways to use the medium were shared between artists on an international scale.

Of course not all American artists were at the forefront of the pastel trend in the same way as Chase and Blum. Others learned about the medium from their peers with whom they were studying on the Continent. This process was inevitably reciprocal. For example, Stott may have been an early influence on some of the American artists who would take up pastel in the mid- to late 1880s. Stott had met these men while they were studying in Paris and became such close friends that it may have been under the advice of American artists Theodore Robinson (1852-1896) and Alexander Harrison (1853-1930) that he travelled to Grez-sur-Loing during the summer months. The

[96] *Ibid.*
[97] Rosenberg, E., 'J. Frank Currier, Munich and the anxious state of American art', Fuhrmeister, C., [et al.], 2009, pp.104-5.

village had become a popular location for English-speaking artists after it was 'discovered' in 1875 by American, Will H. Low (1853-1933), Irishman, Frank O'Meara (1853-1888), and the Scotsmen, R.A.M. Stevenson and Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-1894) all of whom had been forced to seek out new ground after a period of continuous rain in Barbizon. Low recalled in a vivid account of life in the village that by 1876,

> 'the Anglo-Saxon was in full possession of Chevillon's inn, to a much greater degree than Barbizon ever knew. Not only the men who first discovered Grez, but others, brought to the quiet inn the clamour of our English tongue, and a freedom of manners and customs that escapes geographical definition.'[98]

In addition to Robinson and Harrison, Stott was joined in Grez by the American artists Lowell Birge Harrison (1854-1929) and Kenyon Cox (1856-1919). Stott's membership of this group of English-speaking artists meant that he was well placed to encourage the use of pastel amongst those who shared his aesthetic ideas. Indeed, the bridge over the river which had featured in an oil sketch of twilight and his oil painting *Le Passeur*, 1881 formed the subject of his first pastel study. As the work is now lost, it is impossible to judge whether these pictures were executed in a similar style.[99] If his works in different media were comparable then Stott may have adopted pastel because its crumbly texture and soft whimsical effects suited the mystical and melancholic style of Naturalism which he had developed at Grez. Crucially, Brown has explained that early success with this style at the Salon in 1881 and 1882 meant that Stott's peers regarded him as a 'hero figure'.[100] This may have been influential in the decision of both Birge Harrison and Cox to take up the medium in the mid-1880s

[98] Low, W. H., *A Chronicle of Friendships 1873-1900*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908), p.176.
[99] Stott, MS, 1896, pp.9-12.
[100] He exhibited *Girl Knitting* (La Tricoteuse) and *Daydream* (Rêve de Midi) in 1881 and *The Ferry* (Le Passeur) and *The Bathing Place* (La Baignade) in 1882, Brown, 2003, pp. 16 and 22.

and use it for the same kind of ethereal effects pioneered by Stott.[101] In addition, it is notable that Cox would later become a member of the American Society of Painters in Pastel in 1888.[102]

For those who had not studied abroad, however, there were still opportunities to learn about and study American artists' efforts in this medium in Britain through contact with those who chose to settle in the UK. For example, Henry Muhrman (1854-1916) who was originally from Cincinnati, studied alongside Chase, J. Henry Twachtman (1852-1903) and Frank Duveneck (1848-1919) in Munich and had been part of their circle in New York between 1878 and 1883 before moving to London.[103] His use of pastel reflected his Bavarian training as the works were often very dark and atmospheric as demonstrated by his piece, *Barge in Repair*, c.1889 [fig.19]. He was loosely associated with the Whistler circle as he was friendly with the brothers Walter Sickert (1860-1942) and Bernard Sickert (1862-1932) but perhaps more importantly for the wider promotion of pastel, he would regularly exhibit these pieces at the Society of British Artists and at the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows.[104] He even held a one-man exhibition of his pastels in 1890 in London. However, residency in the UK was not an essential prerequisite for American artists to bring their pastel works to the attention of British audiences. The American Society of Painters in Pastel was primarily set up to promote its use in America but its foundation and inaugural

[101] Pilgrim, 1978, pp.53 and 60.
[102] Bolger, D., [et al.], 1989, p.9.
[103] McLaughlin, G., 'Cincinnati Artists of the Munich School', *The American Art Review*, **2**:1, (Dec 1880), pp.45-8.
[104] 1888, cat.no. 215; 1889, cat.nos. 18, 23, 26, 72, 85, 110, 119, 148 and 161; 1890, cat.nos. 43, 79, 143 and 226. See Appendices A-C.

exhibition were reported in the British press. Thus, in *The Art Journal* the critic notes that 'if any proofs were needed of the abundant energy, cleverness, and versatility possessed by American young painters, none more brilliantly conclusive could have been given than the fifty or sixty pastels of which this exhibition consisted.'[105] Such exuberant praise provides evidence that the early endorsement of the medium in America had a considerable influence on the development of the British trend by transforming the status of pastel from a minor art form into one which enjoyed an international reputation.

The American artist James McNeill Whistler, who settled permanently in London in 1859, after a brief period of training in Paris, came to embody the cross-border exchange which facilitated the realisation of this dynamic process. His advocacy of the medium in Britain encouraged some of his followers to take up pastel. Whilst his pastel works offered an exemplar of technique, pastellists also found inspiration in Whistler's distinctive interpretation of subject matter across a range of other media, including painting and etching. He had first made the acquaintance of Albert Moore who would inspire him to develop his use of pastel in 1865. Unlike Moore, however, Whistler would choose to exhibit his pastels. In 1874, he included pastels in his first one-man exhibition in Pall Mall and again in 1875 he sent a series of his pastel drawings to the Society of French Artists. In the latter exhibition, these works attracted a great deal of attention but not necessarily approval from critics. As one reporter from *The Era* noted,

[105] 'The First Exhibition of the American Painters in Pastel,' *The Art Journal*, (May 1884), p.157.

> '…Mr Whistler's eccentric sketches fill a screen in the centre of the room. They chiefly cause a feeling of regret that an artist who might have done so much for art has wasted his time and talent upon a mere whimsical theory…colour, composition, drawing &c., go for nothing in such fanciful representations of the landscape.'[106]

The want of finish and concern for surface effects which he demonstrated in these pastels was in keeping with Whistler's aesthetic convictions but it was also this aspect of his art that set him against the pre-eminent art critic John Ruskin who argued for fidelity in representation, fine detail and precision handling. Their disdain for one another peaked when Ruskin wrote a contentious exhibition review of Whistler's painting *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, 1875 which had been submitted to the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877. He stated unequivocally that, 'I have seen, and heard, much of Cockney impudence before now; but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face.'[107] Whistler then brought a libel suit against Ruskin the following year and the trial served as a forum to voice their competing theories about the nature of art. Whistler defended his practices by stating that, 'I did not intend it to be a 'correct' portrait of the bridge. It is only a moonlight scene…to some persons it may represent all that is intended; to others it may represent nothing at all.'[108]

This fundamental debate regarding what art was and what purpose it served in society would come to have crucial significance for the burgeoning trend for pastel. Whistler's absolute insistence on artistic subjectivity, contemporaneity and the decorative, rather

[106] 'The French Gallery, Bond Street', *The Era*, (28 Nov 1875), p.11.
[107] Extract from Ruskin, J., 'Letter the Seventy-ninth,' *Fors Clavigera*, (2 July 1877) contained in the plaintiff's notice to admit, 25 Nov 1878, Whistler correspondence, system no.11987.
[108] Whistler, J., 'Extract from the trial' published in *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, rv.ed., (London: William Heinemann, 1903), p.8.

than the didactic function of art, immediately recommended him to a generation of young artists who similarly rejected Ruskin's dominance of the contemporary art scene in Britain. Indeed, Clausen who was living in London at the time of the trial, later recalled that his mentor Edwin Long had asked of Whistler's works, "Are these things pictures? There's no subject in them." Clausen later reflected that, 'they were blind: Whistler with his simple perception of beauty was incomprehensible to them: they could not see that he was on the true path…this was a turning point in British art. All honour to Whistler for his courage in breaking down the barriers for the younger men!'[109] This comment reveals the almost folkloric status accorded to Whistler as a radical innovator. Such adulation would lead many young artists in Britain to imitate his style and techniques within their own creative practices.

Following the trial, Whistler travelled to Venice as part of a modest three-month commission from the Fine Art Society to produce a set of twelve etchings.[110] His legal costs had forced him to declare bankruptcy and this commission was an opportunity to escape London and focus on his artwork whilst affording him some much needed income. He took two boxes of pastels and a supply of brown paper with him to Venice which he may have intended to use solely for making preparatory sketches for the prints.[111] However, the bitter Venetian winter soon made holding the etcher's needle impossible and so pastel became his main method of working. Invigorated by the results he was able to achieve in the medium, Whistler extended his stay by a further

[109] Clausen, 1931, p.18.
[110] Marcus Bourne Huish to James McNeill Whistler, 21 Dec 1880, Whistler correspondence, system no., 01108.
[111] MacDonald, M., *James McNeill Whistler, Drawings, Pastels and Watercolours*, (London: Yale University Press, 1995) pp.266-310.

eleven months by constantly reassuring his benefactors that these works were, in his own words, 'complete beauties! - and something so new in Art that everybody's mouth will I feel pretty soon water.'[112] Pastels represent the greatest volume of Whistler's output from this trip with over ninety pieces completed in fourteen months. His, *Venetian Canal*, 1880 [fig.20] is a typical example from this series where he used spidery outlines of black chalk to suggest architectural details whilst leaving much of the ground exposed save for a few flashes of gem-like colour. In these highly original views of the city, Whistler uses the immediacy of pastel to capture intimate scenes of the Venetian people as glanced through the maze of streets and interlinking courtyards. His sparing application accentuated both the chromatic and ephemeral qualities of pastel thereby uniting his vision to the material at hand.

The Fine Art Society agreed to hold an exhibition of these pastels before they had even had the opportunity to view them. Their trepidation about the merits of these works is reflected in the fact that they held the show during the winter season in January 1881. They entrusted every aspect of the exhibition design to Whistler from the framing to the colour scheme in the gallery. All 53 works were mounted in specially commissioned frames that complemented the colours in each work whilst at the same time uniting all the pieces in the exhibition.[113] These were then arranged on the line with sympathetic subjects hung side by side. MacDonald has argued that the 'décor

[112] JW to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [20 Feb/March 1880], Whistler correspondence, system no., 06690.
[113] Curry, D.P., 'Total Control: Whistler at an Exhibition' in R. E. Fine (ed.,) *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination, Studies in the History of Art,* XIX, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts Symposium, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1987, p.77.

and presentation of Whistler's work affirmed pastel's aesthetic status.'[114] In addition, the novelty of the medium for British audiences meant that the show attracted a great deal of press attention from sceptics and supporters alike. For those who sided with Ruskin's belief in exacting representation, these works were a further example of Whistler's wilful eccentricity. In particular, they felt that his sparing technique was not representative of the medium or as one critic stated, 'to describe these "pastels," as he is pleased to term them is difficult…literally, these "pastels" are sketches in black chalk, touched with colour in crayons.'[115] However, others who were more supportive of Whistler's aesthetic theories recognised that the medium 'commends itself to an impressionist, and conveys to us the feeling and perception of transient beauties which are too often missed in the more deliberate and less impulsive efforts of the orthodox student.'[116] Such a comment reveals that Whistler's use of pastel appealed to those who were seeking new means of expression. This exhibition was therefore of seminal importance for the appropriation of pastel as a medium suited to the modern artist who wanted to record the ephemerality of his changing milieu and significantly it marked the moment at which pastel became what Maud Franklin described as 'all the fashion.'[117]

Whistler's endorsement of the pastel medium was crucial for his close circle of loyal followers who were encouraged to adopt the media and techniques which he had made his own. Anna Gruetzner Robins has argued that he deliberately sought out a group

[114] MacDonald, 2001. p.99.
[115] 'Metropolitan Gossip', *The Belfast News-Letter*, (26 Feb 1881), p.3.
[116] 'Mr Whistler's Venice Pastels.' *The Times*, (9 Feb 1881), p.4.
[117] Maud Franklin to Otto Bacher, 28 February 1881, Whistler correspondence, system no. 10060.

of young artistic acolytes 'whose collective identity anticipates the demography of the vast diaspora that makes up the present art internationalism.'[118] It is debateable whether or not he was quite so calculating in his endeavours but his followers were certainly drawn from across Britain, Europe and America. So, for example, Armstrong who came to be associated with the Whistlerite group in 1885, lived in the same neighbourhood as the 'sage of Chelsea' and had mutual acquaintances including Chase and Blum. Despite these connections, she was not actively recruited into his coterie but rather appears to have judiciously decided to side with him as he rose to prominence in the Society of British Artists where Armstrong had become a regular exhibitor. Indeed, in a letter written by her future husband, Stanhope Forbes expresses his deep distrust of Whistler and his clique whom he feels she has aided in their elevation to the council of this organisation by lending them her vote.[119] Her membership of this group then was on an informal basis rather than as a devotee of Whistlerian style. Indeed, her propensity for genre subjects and densely hatched areas of coloured line that covered almost all of the paper was markedly different from Whistler's sparse and evocative pastel technique. Certainly, Robins concedes that whilst Whistler would have approved of her use of pastel, Armstrong had been encouraged in this direction by other artists among whom she believes Degas was the most prominent.[120]

Stott, on the other hand, was a much more dedicated Whistlerite. The two men are believed to have met when both had works exhibited at the Salon in 1882. Artist and art critic, Jacques-Emile Blanche (1861-1942) later recalled that on this occasion Stott

[118] Robins, 2007, p.34.
[119] Letter from S. Forbes to E. Armstrong, 7th Dec 1886, Tate Archive, acc no. 9015.2.2.18.
[120] *Op.cit.*, pp.113-4.

along with other artists 'had thrown themselves into Whistler's arms'.[121] It is important to remember that, in aligning himself with Whistler, Stott was recognising the advantages that would accrue from such a relationship. Indeed, it is noteworthy that once he had returned to Britain, Stott's works often shared strong stylistic parallels with Whistler's early compositions from the 1860s and 70s. For example, in 1884 he made a series of interior studies in pastel of his wife Christina Mary. In one piece from this series entitled, *Resting*, 1884 [fig.21] Stott shows Christina as she reclines in an easy chair. Stott uses carefully matched muted tones and softly blends the pastel pigment to make her look as if she has become part of her surroundings whilst imbuing the work with a sense of repose. This effect may have been borrowed from Whistler's etching of a convalescent Maud Franklin called, *Weary*, 1863 [fig.22] in which the delineation of her hair, dress and chair are so closely matched as to appear one and the same. It was not just in figurative studies that Stott mirrored Whistler's style. In a pastel series of moonlight scenes made the following year, Stott shows his indebtedness to Whistler's nocturne paintings. In, *Summer Moonlight*, 1885 [fig.23] his palette is almost entirely blue save for dark brown and white which act as his shadows and highlights. It is apparent that he is replicating the colour harmonies that Whistler used in paintings like *Nocturne: Blue and Silver, Chelsea*, c.1871 [fig.24]. The close visual similarities between these works suggest that whilst Stott sought to emulate Whistler's aesthetic he was not directly influenced by Whistler's pastel technique.

[121] '*…généralement ces messieurs se sont jetés dans les bras de Whistler*.' Blanche, J-E., (Jun 1888), 'Un Exposant: Le Salon de 1888', *La Revue indépendante*. **20**, p.411.

Guthrie's admiration of Whistlerian painting style was first made manifest in his painted portrait of *Miss Helen Sowerby,* 1882.[122] The placing of the full-length figure against a background which suggests an ambiguity of space would also be replicated in Guthrie's pastel portraits made in 1890. His use of carefully matched colours to create a sense of unity between the sitter and his or her setting was also derived from Whistler. This is not to say that Whistler's pastel technique exerted little or no influence on Guthrie. Rather, I believe that it provided direct inspiration for pastel works which owe the suggestion of ephemerality to a lightness of touch and the unfinished aspect of exposed, unworked paper. Whistler's technical mastery of the pastel medium formed only part of his appeal. The range of his expertise in other media meant that younger artists felt able to select those techniques and ideas which they would emulate. In so doing, they contributed towards an indirect development of Whistler's style in their own pastel works which lent to the burgeoning British pastel trend a distinctive visual reference apparent to audiences and critics alike. Typical of such an assessment is the incisive comment of the critic from the *Pall Mall Gazette* about Guthrie's solo pastel show at Dowdeswells' (1890) who observed that 'the artist has seen Mr Whistler's work, and…without losing individuality he has profited thereby.'[123] In this respect it is clear that Whistler's reputation as an anti-establishment figure gave credence to the pastel movement's avant-garde status.

Networks of influence and the popularisation of pastel in Britain

[122] For further analysis of Miss Helen Sowerby see Billcliffe, 2008, p.64 and Fowle, 2008, p.55.
[123] 'In the Picture Galleries', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (10 Dec 1890), p.2.

Furthermore, the inherent flexibility of pastel meant that it was readily adapted to suit a number of modern stylistic impulses. Cosmo Monkhouse believed that it found supporters amongst young, contemporary artists because, 'it lends itself specially to the expression of their tastes in painting – to striking opposition in colour rather than mellow harmonies; to vividness of presentation rather than expression of inner sentiment; to gaiety, animation, *chic*, and style, rather than the reverse.'[124] However, those who had engineered its new status as a vital art form capable of producing dynamic textural and colour effects would not have been so successful had it not been for the well-developed artistic networks that spanned the UK, Europe and America. The means of exchanging ideas between artists helped to disseminate rapidly the trend for pastel on an international scale. Such was the power of these networks that the first pastel exhibition attracted 125 contributors, 86 of whom have been identified as British artists whilst 33 are known to have originated from Europe and America[125]. The large number of artists using the medium surprised many critics of the 1888 exhibition who had believed that there was no innate British interest in pastel which was described as 'a branch of Art essentially French.'[126] However, other critics recognised that this trend had been gathering momentum for some time with one from *The Athenaeum* astutely noting that, 'the success of the French stimulated the energies of their British friends, and pastel painting has experienced a sudden development on this side of the Channel.'[127] This account of the origins of the pastel movement reveals

[124] Monkhouse, C., 'The First Pastel Exhibition', *The Academy*, (3 Nov 1888), p.294.
[125] *First Pastel Exhibition*, [exh.cat.], The Grosvenor Gallery, London, Oct-Nov 1888, see appendix A.
[126] 'Our London Correspondent', *The Western Times*, (22 Oct 1888), p.3.
[127] 'The Grosvenor Exhibition of Pastel Pictures', *The Athenaeum*, (27 Oct 1888), no.3183, p.560.

an awareness of not only the international nature of the contemporary art scene but also the means by which influences were transmitted.

To this end, a number of overlapping artistic communities across Britain actively shared influences, training and exhibiting experiences. Taking my four chosen artists as an example of this phenomenon, each developed a unique sense of style and became affiliated with different artistic movements but they were almost certainly known to one another as friends and artistic colleagues. Indeed, Stott and Armstrong both belonged to the circle of artists gathered around Whistler during the early stages of their careers. Stott's connection to Scotland stemmed from his encounters with Scottish artists in France.[128] These networks of friendship were extended on their return and it seems likely that as a result Stott and Guthrie became acquainted in Glasgow. Clausen too maintained strong links with Scottish artists having met peripheral Glasgow Boy member James Elder Christie during their student days in London.[129] In addition, he enrolled with Christie and John Lavery (1856-1941) at the Académie Julian in 1880.[130] At the same time, Armstrong and Clausen came to know each other through the intercession of her future husband Stanhope Forbes.[131] Thus, even though these artists did not work together directly, the cogent networks which they formed allowed for the rapid exchange of new ideas about art and art making.

[128] Barrett, B. Dudley, *Artists on the Edge: The Rise of Coastal Artists' Colonies, 1880-1920*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), p.100.
[129] McConkey, 2012, p.20.
[130] Morris, 2005, p.291.
[131] Clausen is mentioned in two letters from Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Armstrong regarding the establishment of the New English Art Club c.1886 and again in a letter criticising Whistler's painting of Lady Colin Campbell, Tate Archive, acc.nos. 9015.2.2.4, 9015.2.2.26 and 9015.2.2.12.

This essentially modern aspect of the art world would prove to be vital for the spread of the pastel trend across Britain.

Many of these connections were initiated during the time that artists were living and working abroad. United by their shared language, artists often relied on their close friendships to discuss artistic matters or receive constructive advice on their works in progress. For example, Guthrie's colleague James Paterson (1854-1932) explained in an account of his student days in Paris that for him the 'comparison of their work with one's own, and their criticism, willingly given if asked for, were more productive than the few words vouchsafed by the laconic professor.'[132] Similarly, Armstrong's only positive statement about her experience in Munich related to, 'the kindness and hospitality on the part of friends whom we made there.'[133] The artists' colonies also provided a convivial atmosphere where artists could exchange ideas and work collaboratively. When Armstrong spent time in Pont-Aven in the summers of 1882-3 she stayed at the Hôtel des Voyageurs which was popular with American and British artists.[134] She later recalled the colony consisted of, 'a lively, picturesquely clad, Bohemian group of men and women…lingering at the board as the day's experiences were narrated and the latest theory advanced, and the flow of talk went merrily on under the swinging lamps.'[135] Among those who could have been included in this group were Alexander Harrison who had been working at Grez and the English artists Frank Bramley (1857-1915), Edwin Harris (1855-1906), Mortimer Menpes (1855-

[132] Paterson, 'Art Student Life', MS, 15 March 1907, GUL, acc. no. MS Paterson LQ1.
[133] Birch, 1906, pp.61-2.
[134] Jacobs, M., *The Good and Simple Life: Artist Colonies in Europe and America,* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), p.62.
[135] Birch, 1906, p.62.

1938), Adrian Stokes (1854-1935), Marianne Stokes (1855-1927) and Stanhope Forbes. Her account of her experiences in Pont-Aven is coloured by a sense of nostalgia but the advantages of such a close-knit community for the propagation of new artistic practices was something she sought to replicate once she returned to Britain. Menpes and Armstrong would reconnect during their time as followers of Whistler. Then, in 1886 she moved to Cornwall where many of the English set from Pont-Aven had created their own colony. It is interesting to note that a small number of this group would go on to adopt pastel including Walter Langley (1852-1922), Marianne Stokes and Henry Scott Tuke (1858-1929), although who was the instigator of this trend is unclear.[136]

By contrast, Stott's adoption of pastel can be attributed to his early association with other proponents of this new art form and he went on to encourage experimentation among his artist associates. A hint at just some of the connections Stott forged at this time is contained in the biography of one of Guthrie's artistic colleagues, John Lavery. The extract recalls how 'Alexander Roche, who was often present at these gatherings, with Stott of Oldham, T. Millie Dow, John Lavery, and others, remembers that ardour and tobacco were burned freely before the shrines of Puvis de Chavannes and Jules Bastien-Lepage.'[137] Such an evocative memory of these young students meeting in the cafés around Paris to discuss the work of artists they admired also reveals that Stott was well acquainted with many of those who would go on to form the Glasgow Boys group. Among this contingent, his closest friend was Thomas Millie Dow whom he

[136] See Appendices A-C.
[137] Shaw-Sparrow, 1911, pp.40-1.

had met when the pair were enrolled at Gérôme's atelier. Significantly, in terms of the popularisation of pastel, Dow had accompanied Stott on each of his sojourns to Grez-sur-Loing where, as previously noted, Stott made his first tentative experiments with the medium. They were so closely allied at this time that Stott would paint Dow's portrait shortly before returning to Britain in June 1882 to marry Christina Mary Bradbury. The two artists remained in contact and Stott even spent some of his honeymoon at Dow's family home in Dysart, Fife. Coincidentally, Guthrie's earliest known pastel work was made the following year. It is possible that Stott visited Dow's Glasgow studio and may have met Guthrie there. However, the somewhat sentimental treatment and conventional pose of Guthrie's work is very different from some of Stott's early pastel portraits of his wife including *Resting*, 1884. This makes the suggestion that Stott directly influenced Guthrie's pastel technique unlikely but Guthrie may have been encouraged to focus his efforts on the medium in 1888 and 1890 as a result of Stott's continued promotion of pastel.

It is also noteworthy that when one or more artists from a distinct stylistic group used pastel, their colleagues would also choose to experiment with its technical and creative possibilities at the same time. Indeed, Billcliffe has argued that it was Guthrie's use of pastel that encouraged his peers, Joseph Crawhall (1861-1913) and Arthur Melville to take up the medium.[138] He suggests that Guthrie and Crawhall were reciprocal sources of inspiration for one another with Guthrie borrowing subject ideas in his 1888 series of works from Crawhall's watercolours and Crawhall in turn using pastel for a

[138] Billcliffe, 2008, p.246.

handful of pieces in 1889. Certainly, by comparing Guthrie's *Pastureland*, 1888 [fig.25] with Crawhall's, *Arab Ploughing with Bullocks, Tangiers*, 1889, [fig.26] it is possible to see similarities in their use of pastel. In Guthrie's work, he experiments with a variety of textural effects. The meadow grass is depicted in the lower left corner with densely applied directional stokes whilst in the middle ground he turns the pastel stick on its side to achieve a broader coverage. In his description of the sky and bush immediately behind the cattle he uses a frottage technique whereby a texture beneath the paper is brought out by rubbing the pastel sticks across the surface. He manages to accentuate these features by leaving much of the paper ground exposed. Similarly, in Crawhall's work he uses the pastel sticks side-on, dragged across the paper in one motion to create only a light coverage in colour through which the paper is still visible. This is particularly evident in his depiction of the sun-baked earth in the foreground. However, Crawhall's squares of pastel colour form a vibrant patchwork across the page making it explicitly more decorative than Guthrie's work in this medium. Melville's pastels also demonstrate that whilst perhaps initially inspired by Guthrie, the pieces were not imitative of his friend's style. Indeed, in Melville's large-scale pastel, *After the Play*, [fig.27], which was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890, his framing of the scene together with his loose handling of the crowd in the background are more reminiscent of Whistler and De Nittis than Guthrie.[139] The concurrent efforts of these closely allied artists reveal that Guthrie may have been a pivotal force in promoting pastel amongst his friends but the inherent flexibility of the medium enabled artists to adapt its use to suit their own sense of style.

[139] Arthur Melville, *After the Play*, 1890, cat.no.21, *The Society of British Pastellists*, Grosvenor Gallery, 1890 [exh.cat.], see appendix C.

These instances of cooperation between artists and the sharing of ideas about media, subject matter and techniques reveal the way in which the close association of young artists in Britain helped to disseminate new ideas about pastel that were then fine-tuned according to each individual's artistic outlook. As a result, the breadth and diversity of the pastel movement came as a shock to reviewers of the first pastel show in 1888. Whilst they recognised the significance of artists including Millet, Degas and Whistler as potential influences on this new trend for pastel, they failed to appreciate the extent to which it was also dependent on the networks of exchange that existed between contemporary artists. It was this element which had helped to attract what were described as 'men of the newer school and more modern ways of thought' to the pastel medium.[140] In this way, the movement was recognised as being a new departure for the use and status of the art form in Britain or as one critic optimistically noted on the eve of the first show, 'the general impression is excellent and it bids fair to become very popular.'[141]

Conclusion

The origins of the pastel movement disclose a great deal about the extent to which it can be seen as a new direction not only in terms of the reputation of the medium but also the artists who were using it. Despite the availability of examples of eighteenth-century pastel art for artists to study in late nineteenth-century Britain, there is little

[140] 'Grosvenor Gallery', *Artist*, (1 Nov 1888), **9**, p.332.
[141] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (29 Oct 1888), p.8.

visual correlation between the softly worked, highly finished society portraits of Carriera or de La Tour and the techniques and styles adopted by my four chosen artists. Indeed, there was virtually no attempt to imitate this historic style of pastel art which demonstrates how the artists involved were seeking to develop innovative practices that embodied their desire for freer expression and greater spontaneity. The selection of pastel as a means to achieve these aims was not made therefore out of any desire to initiate a revival, rather it was in opposition to the way it had been handled by the art establishment in the intervening years. Its status as a lesser medium suited only to preparatory sketches or the colouring of meticulously stippled drawings made its use as an independent art form potentially radical. Certainly, its association with artists who were seen to be in the vanguard of the contemporary art scene helped to sustain its reputation as a means to challenge the status quo. The efforts of British artists with the medium were matched by their peers in Europe and America who were also pursuing a modern aesthetic. Indeed, the fact that the pastel revival occurred on an international scale is symptomatic of the development of the modern art world where stylistic trends proliferated rapidly through networks of like-minded artists and art writers. Thus, by adopting a medium that was seen as very much in fashion and using it in ways that reflected their experiments with the looser degree of finish, colour and subject matter which referenced the latest stylistic trends, these artists were participating in the process of reinvention that marked pastel out as a distinctly modern medium.

Chapter 2 'Rapid and experimental character'[1]: the use of innovative pastel techniques in the development of 'modern' styles

Introduction

British artists actively pursuing a modern aesthetic during the final decades of the nineteenth century adopted approaches which were diverse both in terms of subject matter and treatment. Indeed, no one school or style was identified as embodying 'modern' British art but several contemporary critics noted that these artists shared a preoccupation with directly observed subject matter, a highly individual aesthetic vision and a greater emphasis on the effects of texture and colour. For some scholars such as Gerald Baldwin Brown (1849-1932), who became the first holder of the Watson-Gordon professorship of Fine Art at the University of Edinburgh in 1880, this emphasis on the formal possibilities of art above its didactic function was a critical flaw in the development of modern art. He stated at the time of his election to this prestigious post that 'to make his work technically blameless is only part of what the artist has to do. We cannot accept this as the all-in-all of art without finding that we are doing violence to a part of our nature.'[2] Such a stance ignores the multitude of often overlapping and interdependent modern styles that emerged in Britain, giving form to what Prettejohn has described as 'the complex transaction by which the work of art both places itself in relation to, and opens a liberating distance from, the 'real' world in which we necessarily live.'[3] Whilst inevitably British art practice did not develop in isolation, art historians have tended to foreground French influence to the

[1] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Times*, (18 Oct 1890), p.12.
[2] Brown, G. B., 'Modern French Art', *Appleton's Journal: A Magazine of General Literature*, (Sept 1880), no 51, p.272.
[3] Prettejohn, 2008, p.35.

detriment of specific national responses to the modern world. Indeed, McConkey has cautioned against the type of analysis that 'inevitably stresses points of contact with France and evolves its own checklist of stylistic traits by which specific examples can be judged.'[4]

The attempt to find a unifying prerequisite for modernity which is applicable to all British art has resulted in the development of methodological processes that look beyond the immediate visual parameters of a particular style. As discussed in the introduction, one such theory is advanced by Corbett who argues that new practices were established in relation to 'a set of floating possibilities, a mental climate about the visual arts, expressed most forcefully in the manipulation of pigment on a surface.'[5] The suggestion that the contemporary artistic and social atmosphere could be translated into an artwork by means of experimenting with the very means by which art was made is supported by critics such as George Moore who commented in his book *Modern Painting*, 1893, that when artists failed to adapt their practice according to their medium they were akin to musicians who 'were satisfied with the instrument, and preferred to compose new music for it than to experiment with the instrument itself.'[6] Stott endorsed the same musical analogy and claimed that for the new generation of artists, 'Art is for artists and music is for musicians. The highest delight in either can only be attained in him who understands it best.'[7] It was against this background of debate about the dynamics of the artistic process that many artists began

[4] McConkey, 1988, p.20.
[5] Corbett, 2004, p.11.
[6] Moore, 1893, p.60.
[7] Stott, W., 'Letters to the Editor: Whistler and his Critics', *Court and Society Review*, (29 July 1889).

to take up pastel for the first time. In this chapter then, I intend to explore the way in which artists privileged the properties and effects peculiar to pastel in order to engage with stylistic innovation. By adopting a thematic format, I aim to compare the approaches of my four chosen artists, Clausen, Stott, Guthrie and Armstrong, towards similar subject matter – landscapes, figurative pieces and portraits and examine how diverse pastel practices emerged as a result of their intense personal and material experimentation.

Pastel properties and the suitability of the medium for modern trends

When pastel art began to be exhibited in its own right, critics were forced to confront their own expectations of art and find a new framework for assessment which had at its centre the material properties of the medium at hand. For example, a reviewer from the *Glasgow Herald* stated on the eve of the second pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery that, 'the truest art – be it painting, etching, or any vehicle used to embody the idea of its creator – must need to be realised by the most natural use of the material.'[8] This was in direct contravention of the established viewpoint that the true artist should exercise control over his medium, manipulating it to suit his purpose. Prominent art critic and theorist, P. G. Hamerton was at the forefront of the latest focus on materiality as a guide to stylistic and technical innovation. He championed these ideas in numerous articles published in his monthly journal, *The Portfolio*, and in his book, *The Graphic Arts: A Treatise on the Varieties of Drawing, Painting and Engraving*, originally published in 1882. For example, in the latter text he argued that,

[8] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1889), p.8.

> 'A draughtsman does not interpret the light and shade of Nature in the same manner with different instruments. He has to throw himself into a temper which may be in harmony with the instrument he uses, to be blind for the time to the qualities it cannot render, to be sensitive to those which it interprets readily.'[9]

Thus, for Hamerton, artists should abandon formulaic treatment of subject matter in favour of a much more intuitive approach whereby the chosen medium whether pastel or paint, became an extension of their response to their milieu. Both artist and medium had to be attuned in the creation of an original piece of work.

For the practising pastellist, such theories hinged upon a detailed knowledge of the essential attributes of pastel. This was in part facilitated by the manuals produced by rival firms of colourmen, who retained the services of artists to endorse their products. As a result, these texts often contained contradictory advice which reflected the author's personal predilections. Thus, for example, Louise Jopling who in 1900 wrote a Fine Art manual on behalf of the colourmen firm, George Rowney and Co., stated that 'the best pastels to use are the very soft ones. You can get a box with about fifty different tints, for in pastel you require a multiplicity of shades of one colour.'[10] By contrast, J. L. Sprinck, who in 1886 was writing for Lechertier, Barbe & Co. cautioned his readers against these pre-arranged sets, instead recommending them to 'be as sober as possible in the choice of hues constituting your picture; avoid too great a diversity of colours as well as those which are too vivid or glaring, and combine those of your set with the greatest advantage to be derived from contrast.'[11] Whilst these earnest deliberations aimed to simplify pastel use by narrowing the range of options with regard to its textures, colours and hardness, they inadvertently singled out the technical

[9] Hamerton, 1882, p.2.
[10] Jopling, L., *Hints to Students and Amateurs*, (London: George Rowney & Co. 1900) p.55.
[11] Sprinck, 1886, p.8.

ambiguity of pastel which could be readily adapted to an artist's individual aesthetic. Of special importance to contemporary stylistic impulses was the spontaneity offered by pastel for quick sketches describing expressive line or an impressionistic snapshot of contrasting light effects. Equally, pastel could be worked on the paper surface to render dynamic textural shifts and vivid colour contrasts. A critic from Hamerton's journal, *The Portfolio*, celebrated what he described as 'the special excellencies of the dry method itself, whether the brilliance of the broad point, the soft powdery bloom of the rubbed surface, or the dainty scintillation of the coloured touches on shadowed grounds.'[12] The transmutable quality of pastel matched the shifting priorities of young artists who sought out new ways to depict their experience of all aspects of modern life. The works produced under the auspices of the pastel revival then, can be seen as remnants of this mutually informing relationship between artist, medium and subject.

Landscape Visions

As artists began to seek out a new relationship with their environment, landscape as a genre was one of the first to be transformed. Baldwin Brown reflected on these broad changes in an article he wrote in 1888 for *The Scottish Art Review*, entitled, 'Old and New in Art'.[13] He was comparing the type of grand, romanticised landscapes made famous by J. M. W. Turner (1775-1851), Thomas Gainsborough and John Constable (1776-1837) in the early to mid-nineteenth century with the landscapes of contemporary British artists. He conceded that both generations looked to nature for inspiration but felt that with the older styles, 'we see a "naturalism", based, if we may use the expression, on art; an independence tempered by reverence for the past;

[12] 'Art Chronicle', *The Portfolio*, (1888), **19**, p.240.
[13] Brown, G. B., 'Old and New in Art', *The Scottish Art Review*, (Sept 1888), vol.1, no. 4, pp.84-6.

originality disciplined; freedom gratefully conscious of support and guidance.'[14] By contrast new landscape styles represented a break with tradition, the avoidance of classicising effects and a focus on greater realism and subjectivity. Certainly, both Guthrie and Clausen, chose to depict their immediate locales not because they were noted for their scenic beauty but because they offered up a kind of typical topicality. In this context, pastel was a convenient means of rendering scenes observed directly. It was easily carried and did not require mixing. In addition, colour and line could be applied simultaneously and the clarity of tones had an immediacy and freshness which suggested that the subject had been described accurately without recourse to any subsequent alteration. At the same time, other artists felt that this feature of pastel was better suited to the expression of his or her emotional response to the environment. So, for example, Corkran described Stott as a 'poet-painter' who interpreted nature as a series of notes within a pervading harmony.[15] Stott's lyrical landscapes were untrammelled by human activity whilst Guthrie, Clausen and Armstrong often included figures or man-made features in their work, fixing the works to a specific time and place. In addition to more rural settings their landscapes on occasion also featured some of the expanding towns and cities from their areas. Despite the diversity of subjects and approaches within the modern landscape genre, these artists shared a common concern with temporality and capturing a fleeting impression or a fast-changing reality.

The most potent of their early influences derived from French Naturalism which was exemplified by the work of Lhermitte and Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848-1884). The

[14] *Ibid.* p.85.
[15] Corkran, 1889, p.320.

plein-air style was adopted by young British artists keen to espouse its freer technique, deliberate tonalism and seemingly spontaneous rendering of actual circumstances. Clausen's chapter in Theuriet's book *Jules Bastien-Lepage and his Art. A Memoir* (1892), was used to formulate his interpretation of the way in which naturalist principles had impacted on modern landscape art. Thus, he stated that,

> 'a picture should be the record of something seen, of some impression felt, rather than formally constructed. And men have awakened at length to see that all nature is beautiful, that light is beautiful and that there is colour everywhere; that the endeavour to realise truly the natural relation of people to their surroundings is better than to follow unquestioning on the old conventional lines.'[16]

From this text, it is clear that he advocates first and foremost the need to adopt *plein air* methods, working directly from nature with a degree of actuality. The desire to record a moment or scene with fidelity led many artists to adopt the practice of making numerous rapid sketches in a variety of media and in some cases using photographs to create the final composition. It is noteworthy then that Hamerton mentions in his account of the pastel medium an encounter with an unnamed but 'well-known landscape painter' whom he stated had 'a collection of landscape effects of the kind which in nature last five minutes; and he told me that he had been able to get the relation of colour either directly from nature itself or from the most fresh and immediate recollection.'[17] By using these snapshots, artists aimed to present their works as direct and objective observations of the natural environment. However, John House has shown that, 'any representation in an artistic medium involves a comprehensive act of transposition, from the sensory experience of the object itself

[16] Clausen, G., 'Jules Bastien-Lepage as an artist' in Theuriet, A., *Jules Bastien-Lepage and his Art. A Memoir*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1892), p.112.
[17] Hamerton, 1882, p.152.

into the particular physical characteristics of the chosen medium.'[18] Thus, pastel was deemed to free the artist from the laborious process of mixing pigments, preparing the ground and waiting for the results to dry, allowing him instead to match his artistic vision of the subject with an unrivalled immediacy of execution.

Clausen's sketches demonstrate how he consistently valued the tactility of pastel because it allowed him to make sweeping directional line in pure colour immediately onto the paper surface. For example, in an undated sketch [fig.28] of a sunrise Clausen used the pastel sticks to create radial lines emerging from a central point on the horizon. This is redolent of a technique used by Millet in his pastel work, *Sheepfold by Moonlight*, 1868 [fig.8] to suggest light emanating from the darkness. Clausen lacked Millet's refinement, however, as shown by his bold application of unadulterated yellow dashes indicative of the sunlight reflecting on the clouds. In addition, there are some elements which contrast sharply with the dominant direction of line such as a wisp of cloud, the fading moon or a tree foregrounded in shadow. Clausen's fascination for this type of subject matter is further evidenced in another sunrise study [fig.29] where he builds up bands of colour starting with the earth which is indicated by just a few horizontal lines of dark blue. Moving up from the horizon his line takes a diagonal slant suggesting that he was using his right hand to make zigzagging motions across the page. These works were not made as studies for a painting but rather are representative of an artist revelling in the process of creating different effects

[18] House, J., 'Naturalism', *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*. *Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 19, 2017, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t118/e1855.

by putting pastel to paper. His handling is free and spontaneous, almost as if he is testing his abilities and the capacity of the medium to enable him to realise his subject.

Whilst these sketches form an essential part of his creative practice, they were seldom seen in public. However, Clausen together with Guthrie would go on to use pastel for more complex finished landscapes. In his instruction manual, Sprinck is careful to distinguish between two quite distinct styles of pastel landscape.

> 'The first style is more appropriate to those whose individual taste and feeling incline more for elegance and dexterity of touch to the more tender impressions of Nature's grace, producing mere drawing in coloured crayons. The second on the contrary…approaches very nearly the powerful landscapes of Gainsborough or a Cecil Lawson, referring to the whole display of harmony in tone and colour.'[19]

Essential to the finish of the second type of work was Sprinck's recommendation to cover the entire surface with smoothly blended tones. An example of this technique is evident in Clausen's, *The Mill at Dusk*, c.1895 [fig.30] where he has harmonised his palette with warm brown, ochre and orange tones on cream paper. The patterns of light and shade cast by the setting sun have been rendered by working a darker tone from the upper left corner across the page until it gradually lightens on the western aspect. The suffused light is suggested by softly blending the pigment, particularly in the shadows, with a stump of rolled paper. This work is a delicate study in tonality and atmospheric effects. Yet, it is crucial to note that Clausen only adopted this measured approach in the later stages of his career when his youthful exuberance for bold textural shifts and colour had been tempered by his experience of the medium. This pastel is very much in the style of his painted works from the same period for as

[19] Sprinck, 1886, p.31.

Peyton Skipworth explained, 'Clausen became increasingly preoccupied with dissolving outline in light.'[20] In this way, it was relatively conventional both in terms of Clausen's use of the medium and as part of his wider oeuvre.

This sense of moderate innovation was subsequently qualified by Guthrie's more radical Stirlingshire pastels from 1888. In this series, he traversed the line between sketch and finished piece by covering the majority of his paper in pastel colour whilst retaining the freer handling and spontaneity of a brief drawing. Thus, in a work entitled, *Winter,* 1888 [fig.31] he used a denser type of pastel crayon to create a decorative pattern of flatly applied colour to render a snow-covered view of the town. The colours are simple and unadulterated. The sky is suggested by a single shade of bright blue that has been applied in a rapid zigzagging motion. The brilliance of this hue and the directionality of his line contrast with the smudgy, horizontal application of pinkish brown in the houses and clouds. The laid lines of the paper that were left visible in places heighten the horizontality of the piece. Caw recognised that this type of work was 'marked by a wonderful sense of the possibilities and limitations of the medium' and that 'perhaps the most delightful quality of a delightful series was the frugality with which the actual medium was used, and the unworked ground made to contribute to the final result.'[21] Indeed, such colourful and spontaneous landscape visions were a new departure in Guthrie's artistic development. Prior to this date, he had achieved some critical recognition for his oil paintings, *To Pastures New,* 1882-3 *Schoolmates* 1884-5 and *In the Orchard*, 1885-6 [fig.42].[22] These works featured a

[20] Skipworth, P., 'Sir George Clausen', *Connoisseur*, (Jul 1980), vol.204, no.821, p.180.
[21] Caw, J., *Scottish Painting Past and Present 1620-1908*, (Edinburgh, 1908), p.368.
[22] Billcliffe, 2008, pp.69-70 and pp.109-111.

figure or group of figures silhouetted against a landscape setting and were characterised by the large-scale of the canvases as well as marked shifts in handling from fine detail in the faces to rich impasto in the background. By contrast, pastel enabled Guthrie to work on a smaller scale, applying the medium with greater economy which helped to imbue these works with a spontaneity not evident in his carefully composed paintings.

Such an individual response to the genre gave Guthrie's landscape pictures his own distinctive stamp. Stott too, began to refine his idiosyncratic *plein-air* style in a way which embraced the introspection advocated by Symbolism. This was a European stylistic current usually pertaining to literature which was adopted by many artists in order to achieve what Rodolphe Rapetti has described as 'the principles of an abstract conception, based not on the more or less literal transcript of the spectacle offered by nature, but on its interpretation.'[23] It is for this reason that pastel was a medium favoured by many of the French and Belgian symbolists because of its ability to suggest rather than insist on detail. Stott's attempt to express what Stevenson termed, 'the world of individual eyesight' was marked by close observation combined with a poeticism which only intensified after he met his artistic mentor, Whistler, in 1882.[24] Whistler had championed the idea that the artist was a mediator who alone could understand and translate the beauty of Nature into Art.[25] Indeed, it was at this time that Stott's experimentation with pastel became a significant part of his creative practice. It has been suggested by Anna Gruetzner Robins that Stott was motivated in

[23] Rapetti, R., 'Landscape and Symbols' in Rapetti, [et al.], *Van Gogh to Kandinsky: Symbolist Landscape in Europe 1880-1910*, (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 2013), p.19.
[24] Stevenson, R., 'William Stott of Oldham', (Oct 1894), *The Studio*; **IV**: 19, p.4.
[25] Whistler, 'Ten o'clock lecture', 20 Feb 1885.

part by a series of watercolours that Whistler made on a trip to St Ives in 1884. She has made the case that these seascapes epitomised Whistler's highly stylised vision of nature whereby he reduced the scene to the simplest of motifs and framed the piece as if it had been glanced at and no more.[26] Certainly, Stott chose similarly depopulated seascapes for a series of fifteen pastels completed during the summer of 1884.[27] He also emulated Whistler's horizontality and his penchant for minimal colour harmonies. However, these works were not mere imitations of his mentor's style. Crucially, his selection of pastel instead of watercolour allowed him to manipulate an opaque surface tension as opposed to Whistler's translucency. Stott's preoccupation with the matte texture of pastel and the clarity of the pastel tones allowed him to be even more daring in terms of his rendering of spatial depth so much so that these works were almost unrecognisable as seascapes because the colours seemed to float on a single plane. The inherently ethereal quality of pastel was essential for Stott's realisation of his own unique vision of the world and continued to inform his creative impulse throughout his oeuvre.

Stott made all the seascapes from this early series on the Cumbrian Coast near to his home at Ravenglass where he had settled with his wife in 1884, shortly after they were married. This subject matter may reflect Stott's connection to the local area but more importantly the isolated coastline seemed to offer Stott the necessary tranquillity to reflect upon nature and produce some of his most ground-breaking works to date. From his notebook we can ascertain that Stott made these works *in situ*, recording notes such as 'grey sky, green sea with big waves' or 'sunny sky, emerald sea, small

[26] Robins, 2007, pp.13-14.
[27] Stott, MS, 1896, p.23.

waves' to help him to differentiate between each piece.[28] It is significant that Stott never titled these works to include their geographical location as this was irrelevant to his experience of the landscape which was an imagined interaction between colour and form. For example, in *Sandpools*, 1885 [fig.32] Stott blurs the distinction between land, sky and sea by removing any recessional markers and restricting his palette to blue and ochre which are in turn reflected ceaselessly in the mirroring effect of the shallow pools. His use of a lightly coloured buff paper which is just visible through the soft layers of loose pigment further unifies the hues and lends a cool tonality to the work. Unlike Clausen's sketchy pastels of closely observed details these pieces are fully finished works even though the composition appears somewhat simplistic. Thus, for Stott the texture of pastel allowed him to bring his imaginative conceptions to fruition in what was essentially a generic study devoid of any specific identifying features. As a result, these works were so innovative that many found them to be illegible daubs or as one reviewer remarked 'William Stott, of Oldham, invites us to contemplate an expanse of yellow sand holding two or three patches of blue, surmounted by a narrow strip of sea, which is barely worth a frame.'[29] Despite such scathing criticism, Stott was instrumental in expanding the boundaries of how the medium could shape the artist's impression of nature as it was being observed.

It was not just the reflective quality of water that fascinated Stott but also the uncanny effects of moonlight as it cloaked the landscape. He articulated this preoccupation in a letter quoted in Corkran's article in which he questioned,

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[28] *Ibid.*
[29] 'The Society of British Artists', *The British Architect*, (23 April 1886), **25**, p.410.

> 'how speak then of the awful, delightful weirdness of moonlight…the moon in a kind of trance moving inch by inch up the sky through the blue, tender ether; of its yellow effulgence as it creeps, enveloping like a breath the line of the hills…of that silence that stillness of heaven and earth so wonderful?'[30]

Again he would turn to the velvety quality of pastel to capture the stillness and unreality of nightfall as it effaces detail and harmonises the elements of the scene in its veil of darkness. For example, in *Summer Moonlight*, 1885 [fig.23] Stott covers almost all the paper with carefully blended layers to create a unified, opaque surface of pigment. Depth is realised not through textural but tonal shifts from dark blue-green to white highlights. The effect, as in *Sandpools*, is a pictorial flatness that places land, sky and sea on a single plane. Yet, Stott was not alone in his experimentation with the unique properties of pastel for capturing the vastness of the night or unusual weather effects. Dow likewise used pastel to create an eerie depiction of moonlight on the sea. As previously mentioned in chapter one, he was probably inspired to take up the medium as a result of his close friendship with Stott whom he met while the pair were studying in Paris in 1882.[31] Their closeness is evident in the similarity between their styles and their mutual influences. Certainly, in *Moonlight on the Sea*, c.1888 [fig.33] Dow seems to emulate the soft tonal harmonies that Stott had perfected in his series of seascapes and nocturnal pastels. There is also the same paradoxical tension between the infinite reflectiveness of the sky and sea and the matte surface created by the pastel chalks. However, Dow's pastel breaks with the horizontal format that had worked so well for Stott and is even more restrictive of his palette, working only in different tints of silvery grey. The effect transcends any sense of temporal or geographical reality and has the appearance of light reflected on a curved metal surface. Not only were

[30] Corkran, 1889, p.320.
[31] Stott, MS, 1896, p.14.

such otherworldly landscapes stylistically innovative, they also prioritised the material ephemerality of the pastel dust to give specificity of form to the poetic sensibilities of the artist's conception of nature.

Stott's confidence with pastel in the creation of this aesthetic style was amply demonstrated on a trip to the Bernese Oberland made between September and October of 1888. He may have chosen this location for several reasons. Firstly, the region had been the subject of a recent exhibition at Earl's Court in 1887 whereby an enormous mountain scene was painted on a suspended curtain so that visitors could immerse themselves in that environment while promenading through the park. This fashionable attraction was recorded by Philip Wilson Steer (1860-1942) in his eponymous work which is now in the Tate.[32] It is also possible that he learned about the location from his brother who had visited Switzerland in 1882 and who had even made an amateurish attempt at painting the Alps in a typically Ruskinian style.[33] Regardless of his motivation, Stott had chosen a place that was at the forefront of contemporary popular imagination and yet offered the serenity and solemnity he required for making his highly introspective and ethereal landscapes.

Contemporary accounts of his visit would suggest that this trip was akin to a spiritual retreat whereby Stott, committed to his vision 'encamped among the frozen altitudes of the Jungfrau, and watched, through the night till dawn, the white world given over to the sway of the September moon.'[34] McConkey has noted that the viewpoint Stott

[32] https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/steer-the-swiss-alps-at-the-earls-court-exhibition-n05375.
[33] Samuel Taylor Stott, *Valley of the Lauterbrunnen, Switzerland*, 1882, oil on canvas, 152.5 x 100.5 cm, Oldham Art Gallery, acc. no. 4.04.
[34] Corkran, 1889, p.323.

adopted in several of these pieces was indicative of how he had 'placed himself in extreme conditions, viewing the frieze of mountain peaks from a high position.'[35] Despite pastel having the advantage of requiring no prior mixing or preparation, it seems unlikely that Stott had the fortitude to complete all his pastels *in situ* as the inclement conditions and high altitude were not conducive to the size of the pastel works and the degree of finish achieved. Instead, Stott's method was almost certainly to make numerous pastel studies of the rapidly changing atmospheric effects which he would then synthesise in the creation of a final composition.[36] For example, in *The Fischerhorn Glacier,* 1888 [fig.34] Stott has painstakingly built up layers of texture and colour that have been mapped out in advance so as to avoid any imperfections. His technique is not only fastidious it is also highly innovative, so that for example, the lilac sky has been smoothly blended by gently brushing the powdered chalks. This is in sharp contrast to the jagged crevasses which have been added by linear inflection on top of the large mass of blues and white tones. Yet, the harmony created by this layering technique means that a subtle surface tension is maintained and no one element overshadows another. This inventive re-imagining of a well-known landscape was widely praised in the press because as one reviewer noted these works were so 'fresh in subject or rather in treatment, perfect in technique, and most subtly beautiful in colour it is hard to assign their order of merit.'[37] Thus, for Stott, pastel allowed him to transform his emotive response to nature into a highly stylised compositional construct, imbued with a feeling of mysticism and unreality. Indeed, Corkran commented that, 'most eminent painters of pictures, admire his works passionately,

[35] McConkey, K., Unpublished MS, quoted in Brown, 2003, p.103.
[36] Stott, MS, 1896, pp.35-40.
[37] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald,* (22 Oct 1889), p.8.

gaining from them a sense as of a new understanding of nature, a fuller possession of its secrets and its enchantments.'[38]

Stott's sense of otherworldliness contrasts sharply with modern notions of the cityscape, as outlined by Baudelaire in his influential 1863 essay 'The Painter of Modern Life' where actual everyday experience is championed as a worthy subject for art.[39] This view was not shared by all social commentators in Britain. So for example, one writer mused that 'High is the function of English art – standing between the outward senses and the inward aspirations, it must reveal to a people engrossed in worldly concerns, things beautiful in nature and divine in human life.'[40] However, some critics such as Frederick Wedmore mounted a rousing defence of the place of modern life in modern art when he argued that, 'the artist who goes into the street, into the drawing room, or on the lawn, without the blinding and depressing burden of tradition that is too strong for him, sees plenty that is worthy of record in the outward aspects of the life of to-day.'[41] Certainly, for those who wanted to incorporate the subject of Britain's urbanisation into their repertoire, pastel was an ideal medium as the composition could be rapidly adapted and the variety of line meant that sharp architectural features could be contrasted with areas of *sfumato* blending indicative of city smog. At the same time, the convenience of the medium allowed artists to tackle this type of subject matter from new perspectives wherever they happened to find themselves, be it in the street, on a boat, on a train or in a carriage. There was also a

[38] Corkran, 1889, p.319.
[39] Baudelaire, C., trans. J. Mayne, 1995, pp.12-18.
[40] 'The State of Art in England,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, (May 1882), vol. 131, no. 799, p.622.
[41] Wedmore, F., 'Modern Life in Modern Art', *The Magazine of Art*, (Jan 1888), p.79.

correlation between the fashionable lives of the bourgeoisie and the contemporary status of pastel as a popular medium. These possibilities for expression motivated some young artists to use pastel to render scenes that often reflected their middle-class circumstances in and around the towns and cities where they lived. Thus, it is important to establish what techniques artists used to depict cosmopolitan subject matter and how original these pieces were within the context of both their individual styles and British art at this time.

It is significant to note that all my key artists were not especially well known for their documentation of the city streets, especially by the mid-1880s. Stott preferred remote and ethereal landscapes whilst both Guthrie and Clausen were seen as purveyors of rural naturalism. Clausen had attempted some paintings of urban realism while he was living in the Haverstock Hill area of London, between 1877 and 1881. However, he abandoned this type of subject matter after moving to St Albans, Hertfordshire in 1881 where according to him, 'one saw people doing simple things under good conditions of lighting; and there was always landscape.'[42] Yet, it is significant that both Armstrong and Guthrie lived and worked between the city and the countryside often spending months in one location or another. Indeed, Armstrong met her future husband Stanhope Forbes when she visited Newlyn in 1885 but she did not move there permanently until after the couple were married in August 1889. The letters from their extended courtship reveal that Armstrong spent much of her year in London surrounded by a cosmopolitan circle of friends including Whistler and his acolytes

[42] Clausen, 1931, p.19; He was born and lived in London between 1852 and 1881. He lived in St Albans in Hertfordshire between 1881 and 1885 before moving to Cookham Dean in Berkshire where he lived between 1885 and 1891.

Starr and Walter Sickert. Even when she did stay in Cornwall she spent much of her time at the more developed resorts of St Ives or Penzance rather than the isolated artists' colony at Newlyn. Judith Cook has suggested that this was because 'she was singularly unimpressed by Newlyn's male artistic community and disliked its atmosphere' but it is more likely that St Ives offered both the open space she relished and easy access to local amenities.[43] Meanwhile, Guthrie preferred working in remote rural locations so much so that between 1883 and 1886 he and his mother rented a house in the village of Cockburnspath, Berwickshire. Here he would be joined by his compatriots from the Glasgow School during the summer months. However, during the winter Guthrie was so isolated that Caw claimed in 1932 that his artistic fervour deteriorated as did his health.[44] It is for this reason that from 1886 onwards Guthrie began to spend more time in Glasgow where many of his friends had studios and he was able to forge business connections at the city's thriving Art Club. He also went to stay with two of these patrons in the outlying towns of Stirling and Helensburgh where, in much the same way as Armstrong, his pastels reflected comfortable, middle-class life and leisure pursuits rather than the uncompromising cityscapes of Degas and Raffaëlli.

Despite his more measured approach, it is significant that Guthrie would choose pastel for this type of subject matter as he had never before attempted it in his artistic career. It is possible that he was inspired by the work of the avant-garde artists cited above or perhaps more likely he recognised the success enjoyed by some of his peers, including John Lavery, with their paintings of the middle-classes. Pastel offered Guthrie the

[43] Cook, J. [et al.], 2000, p.69.
[44] *Ibid.* pp.25-26.

means to capture the sense of dynamism which permeated all aspects of city life at this time. It is interesting to note that Guthrie only rarely produced modern life works in oil paint presumably because this medium lacked pastel's immediacy and speed of execution. From an analysis of Caw's unofficial catalogue of Guthrie's pastels, it is possible to argue that as the artist became more familiar with the possibilities pastel offered for rapid outlines, broad textural shifts and interesting colour effects, he was emboldened to depict more and more cosmopolitan subjects. Indeed, only two out of the fifteen works in the 1888 Stirlingshire series depict the town, whereas just two years later almost half of the forty-three pastels in the Helensburgh series are dedicated to landscapes affected by urban expansion including five of the railways and seven of the docks.[45] One of these works now titled *Navvy*, 1890 [fig.35] is a complex study of social progress.[46] In the foreground stands a man in a relaxed pose who is looking at a mass of wooden beams intended for some unknown building project. He is not shown engaged in labour but his loose fitting clothing and white cap both suggest that he may in fact be a carpenter.[47] The sense that he is engaged in a work-in-progress is reinforced by the contrast between Guthrie's faint, sketchy technique in the foreground and the more heavily rendered parade of houses behind him. However, the poor condition of this work, caused by light damage and lifting of the surface pigment, makes it impossible to gauge whether Guthrie deliberately intended to use shifts in handling to imbue the work with a feeling that the landscape is in a state of flux.

[45] Caw, 1932, pp.233-5; see appendix D.
[46] It could be one of four pastels, 1890 dedicated to a railway theme – *A New Embankment, Railway Making at Whistlefield, A Railway Cutting, Building the West Highland Railway*.
[47] John Tenniel illustrations for Carroll, L., 'The Walrus and the Carpenter,' *Through the Looking Glass and what Alice found there*, (London, 1871).

Yet, in another work from this series, *The Luss Road*, 1890 [fig.36] Guthrie shows himself to be adept at using changes in technique and pastel density to suggest the fast pace of change on this well-worn route from Glasgow to Helensburgh and the Trossachs. For example, in the embankment to the right of the road he uses a very soft pastel that has been densely rubbed and then chipped away or fractured by crumpling the paper in order to suggest that it has been recently ploughed.[48] The heavy appearance of the earthy clod is offset by delicately blended areas of powdery white pastel that imitate the dust being thrown up by the traffic. Indeed, the sense of impermanency is supported by the fact that Guthrie appears to have made this work while he too was on the move. The high vantage point and damage to the edges of the paper caused by jerking motions while the piece was pinned to a board indicate that he was probably riding in a carriage at the time. This sort of immediacy was only possible because of the inherent portability of pastel materials. Yet, it is significant that despite the originality of this subject matter within Guthrie's oeuvre he was using pastel to treat it in a very subtle way. These were not overtly moralising pieces or gritty examples of urban realism. Rather they were Guthrie's suggestive observations of the contemporary world as he encountered it. In this way, Guthrie was approaching Baudelaire's conception of the modern artist as *flâneur* or one who set himself up, 'amid the ebb and flow of movement, in the midst of the fugitive and the infinite.'[49] Whilst Guthrie was seldom immersed in the frenetic street life that Baudelaire claimed

[48] Soft pastels were made by combining the pastel pigment with a malleable binding agent or mucilage such as clay, gum tragacanth or linseed decoction which stopped them from becoming hard or brittle. See Murray, 1860, p.16; Townsend, J. H., 'Analysis of Pastel and Chalk Materials', *The Paper Conservator*, 1998, vol.22, issue 1, p.21.
[49] Baudelaire, C., trans. J. Mayne, 1995, p.9.

was the natural habitat of the *flâneur*, he nevertheless used pastel to recreate the pace and momentary spectacle of modern life in the west of Scotland.

On the other hand, Armstrong's pastels of life in a busy village community emphasised the timeless rather than the transient aspects of this existence. Indeed, in *Hide and Seek* (I), [undated] [fig.37] the outline of the buildings in the village of Paul, Cornwall occupy only a tiny space in the top right corner. It is barely noticeable in a composition that prioritises the idyllic landscape through a brightly keyed palette and foregrounding of the children's game. The wholesomeness of Armstrong's composition is in stark contrast to the unsavoury aspects of the entertainment scene in Paris and London depicted by Degas and Walter Sickert respectively. The lack of urban subject matter in Armstrong's oeuvre is particularly surprising given that she had lived in Chelsea on and off since moving there from Canada at the age of eleven.[50] She was friendly with an avant-garde coterie of artists including Sickert and his wife who owned a modest collection of Degas's work.[51] She would have been aware of Sickert's criticism of what he saw as 'the carefully fostered delusion that a French peasant is in any sense a nobler or fitter theme for art than an English peasant, or a dweller in the country than a dweller in the heart of the city.'[52] In practice, however, Armstrong's creative freedom was curtailed by the social imperative to make art that was befitting to her reputation as a respectable married woman. This is supported by private letters from Forbes who deeply distrusted her avant-garde friends as he felt that they might lead her astray both morally and artistically. In one such letter he forcefully reminds her

[50] Birch, 1906, p.57.
[51] Robins and Thomson, 2005, p.74.
[52] Sickert, W., 'Drawing: Messrs Dowdeswell's Galleries,' *New York Herald*, (1 April 1889).

that 'You will find that Mrs Starr & some others will be constantly with these Sickerts - & some of this set you know I most particularly desire never to meet again…Act as you think best. I am sure you will do nothing foolish.'[53] Despite the social and emotional barriers which Armstrong encountered she was able to use pastel as a means to incorporate some subtler techniques from radical contemporary art. For example, Robins claims that, 'the cluster of children in Elizabeth Forbes, *Oranges and Lemons* [fig.38], who form a coherent mass, arranged off centre and spilling from left to right, must have been prompted by the arrangement of the figures in [Degas's painting] *Yellow Dancers* [1875-9].'[54] This interpretation, however, is perhaps too tenuous as the triangular composition in Armstrong's work could just as easily be ascribed to a framing device for the Holy Family, used in Renaissance art.[55] Equally, it may be the simple and inevitable consequence of the angle formed by the children's arms which are linked and raised as an essential part of the action sequence of this traditional singing game. Perhaps more importantly, Armstrong's use of pastel to tackle this subject matter allowed her to combine vibrant colours and coarsely drawn directional hatching in a tightly framed space, to create a composition that is overwhelmingly dense and almost claustrophobic. It is a closely observed, outdoor scene which lasts for only a very short time, so there is an edginess about the speed of its execution which finds parallels in the flux of modern day life which so fascinated Degas. Yet, it is inescapable that Armstrong like French women artists, as well as many of her male counterparts on the modern British art scene, failed to see the city as a suitable setting for her art. This is not to call into question these artists' pioneering use of pastels but

[53] Stanhope Forbes to E. A. Armstrong, 7th December 1889, MS Tate Archive, Acc. No. 9015.2.2.18.
[54] Robins, A. Gruetzner, 'The Greatest artist the world has ever known', in Robins and Thomson, 2005, p.74.
[55] Zorach, R., *The Passionate Triangle*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2011).

rather to acknowledge their own highly personal engagement with the contemporary world.

Figurative pieces: rustic workers, intimate interiors and leisured lives

This section examines how artists exploited the unique properties of pastel to interpret exterior and interior space which was occupied, however fleetingly, by the human form. Pure colour could be applied without the need for mixing and the dry processes of pastel minimised the time lost waiting for oil paint or watercolour to dry. Light, sketchy handling delivered an instant impression of form and was therefore ideally suited to render spontaneous studies *en plein air* of the body in movement. Pastel also lent itself to vigorous layering so that texture and colour density were made explicit as an integral part of the facture. Such graduated techniques informed figurative pieces inspired by workplace and intimate domestic settings. These works are to be differentiated from formal portraits because the suggestion is always that the scene is momentarily observed by the artist and not posed by the people who form the subject of the piece. Pastel offered the artist a ready means of conveying contrasting effects that could be both definite and precise or atmospheric and fugitive. This inherent flexibility is summarised by Hamerton when he states that, 'a surprising degree of vivid imitation can be attained in pastel which in skilful hands rivals painting in this power, but its best employment is in securing accurate notes of colour relations in spaces.'[56] In this respect, immediacy was important for modern artists who were keen to portray people who represented all aspects of contemporary life. Indeed, in a letter to a friend, Bastien-Lepage mocked the insistence on classical poses at the atelier by

[56] Hamerton, 1882, p.157.

stating 'in the school I have drawn gods and goddesses, Greek and Roman that I knew nothing about, that I did not understand and even laughed at.'[57] Equally, Whistler had insisted in his Ten o'clock lecture, 1885 that great art sought the condition of its time or as he phrased it, 'Rembrandt, when he saw picturesque grandeur and noble dignity in the Jews' quarter of Amsterdam…lamented not that its inhabitants were not Greeks. As did Tintoret [sic] and Paul Veronese, among the Venetians while not halting to change the brocaded silks for the classic draperies of Athens.'[58] Given the powerful influence that Bastien-Lepage and Whistler exerted on the stylistic development of all my key artists it is unsurprising that they avoided the type of pastels that Sprinck described as being executed in the '*staccato* technique' whereby only the shadows and highlights of classical drapery are rendered using very finely drawn lines on tinted paper.[59] Instead, they exploited the expressive line and spontaneity of the medium in order to record people as they saw them. As Clausen said at a later date, this could be achieved 'by the study and analysis, not only of nature, but of the way in which things are shown to us in nature by light and shade, by warm and cold colour…the painter studies, not facts but appearances'.[60] The people who became the focus of these artists' work whether encountered in the countryside or the town were therefore sourced either from the local populace or observed in the action of their day-to-day lives.

[57] Quoted in Theuriet, A., 1892, p.36.
[58] Whistler, J., *Ten o'clock lecture*, 20 February 1885.
[59] Sprinck, 1886, pp.11-12; See also Asleson, R., *Albert Moore*, (London: Phaidon, 2000) for examples of this technique in practice.
[60] Clausen, G., *Six Lectures on Painting*, (London: Stock, 1904), p.26.

Powerful studies of rural life simultaneously evidenced artists' technical experimentation with the pastel medium and their desire to reference the work of French artists such as Millet, Lhermitte and Bastien-Lepage in the candid depiction of agricultural labour. Indeed, Clausen later defended Bastien-Lepage's ability to 'invest the whole of his canvas with a new and living interest. He insists on the claims of smaller things – commonly slurred over and suppressed – to a full and complete realisation; completely overturning old formulae'.[61] Such was the influence of French Naturalism that the opening show (1886) at the New English Art Club, founded to support the efforts of modern artists in Britain, was dominated by works in this style.[62] Whilst this approach took no account of the impact of industrialisation and depopulation on the countryside, British artists still recorded these encroachments on the rural idyll, with an objective subtlety. In this respect, pastel was particularly suitable for describing transitional states because its inherent flexibility allowed for swift changes in handling. Rapidly drawn lines or sweeping areas of blurred pastel pigment accentuated the sense of a moment captured spontaneously. Indeed, in 1900 A. L. Baldry stated that pastel's 'directness and simplicity, its brilliance and delicate variety, were just what was needed to give the fullest scope to artistic imaginings'.[63] Furthermore, the vibrant shades of pastel that were available at this time meant that artists could experiment with their treatment of rural subject matter. So for example, by comparing the different compositional choices and pastel techniques of Clausen and Guthrie, I would suggest that pastel enabled both these artists to move beyond

[61] Clausen, G. 'Bastien-Lepage and Modern Realism', *The Scottish Art Review*, (Oct 1888), vol.1, no. 5, p.114.
[62] Nearly three quarters of the exhibits were focused on rural subject matter – See Catalogue Exhibition of Pictures of New English Art Club, opened 12th April 1886, Tate Archive, Acc. no. 20067/5/1.
[63] Baldry, A. L., 'Pastel- Its Value and Present Position', *The Magazine of Art*, (Jan 1900), p.278.

their immediate influences and create a new and more expressive version of British Naturalism.

Clausen's vision of the countryside was based on his belief in the particular affinity which existed between those who worked the land and the land itself. Indeed, in 1890 Stevenson recognised that in Clausen's *Field Hand*, (now entitled *Head of a Peasant Woman*, 1882 oil on canvas, private collection) he had 'endeavoured to give the figure of the old woman its right relation to the landscape whilst omitting nothing of her natural wrinkles, tan and griminess.'[64] This was typical of Clausen's images of rural labourers as it contained a single figure who was either posed front on, in a static way in order to engage the viewer's gaze or as he or she was performing some task such as harvesting. This type of work required Clausen to find a means to capture momentary shifts in the subject's expression or pose. He was able to attain this level of immediacy in pastel which he could use to make rapid sketches in full colour. Thus, in an undated sketch of a man mowing [fig.39], we see that Clausen employed the pastel sticks in a linear way to capture the sinuous line of the man's body as he swings the heavy scythe. The varying density of line suggests the movement and effort exerted in this type of activity but the overall impression is of a momentary observation rendered in the most rudimentary way. Clausen featured the mower in two of his paintings. The first was a watercolour made in 1885 and the second a full scale oil painting made in 1891 [fig.40]. When the latter is compared with his numerous preparatory pastel sketches of this subject, it is clear that the pose of the chief protagonists has been changed to evoke through the torsion of the bodies, the strength of their physical action. This was

[64] Stevenson, R. A. M., 'George Clausen', *The Art Journal*, (Oct 1890), p.292.

a strategy frequently employed by Clausen to select and work up those compositional details which seemed to him to confirm his vision of the finished piece. In this instance, his handling of the men's clothing, with dashes of contrasting tones and vivid highlights was borrowed directly from his pastel sketches. The way in which Clausen used these visual *aide-mémoires* as a point of reference for subsequent works is alluded to by his biographer, Albert Rutherston, who described how, 'Mr Clausen reverted to the traditional practice of the great masters, relying on memory and accumulated knowledge with the assistance of a *liber studiorum*.'[65]

Clausen's methodical approach towards the construction of his composition was admired by a critic who acknowledged that, 'direct and personal impressions of the world are evident in Mr Clausen's "Mowers", a picture as remarkable for its drawing – full of accuracy and character – as for its just atmospheric tone'.[66] However, this exacting technique meant that his paintings sometimes lacked the fugitive expressivity he was able to capture in his pastels. Indeed, it is apparent from Clausen's finished works in pastel such as *Sheepfold*, 1890 [fig.41] that the dynamics of the composition are maintained by exploiting the soft texture of the dry pigment. The indistinct rendering of the shepherd boys and their flock as well as the carefully matched brown and blue hues make it appear as if they have become one with the landscape. This more radical approach to naturalism would begin to shape Clausen's style towards a greater focus on colour and texture rather than a strict adherence to compositional exactness.

[65] Rutherston, A., ed., *George Clausen*, (London: Ernest Benn, Ltd, 1923), p.17.
[66] 'The Galleries', *The Saturday Review*, (24 April 1886), p.573.

Whilst Guthrie shared Clausen's preoccupation with rural subject matter during the 1880s, his unique pastel style was slower to evolve. He had chosen to base himself in areas such as Brig o'Turk and Cockburnspath where a traditional way of life still existed despite population shifts and changes in rural legislation. A typical example of his work from this period can be found in his painting, *A Hind's Daughter*, 1882 (National Gallery of Scotland) in which he depicts a young girl as she tends the kail patch on her father's tenant farm.[67] Caw recognised that scenes like this and 'simple everyday incidents seen in their natural setting [provided] material exactly suited to his instinctively visual apprehension of reality'.[68] Guthrie had enjoyed some critical success with his paintings but by 1885 he was struggling to move forward creatively with Caw recounting that he had abandoned or destroyed two unfinished compositions, *The Stonebreaker* and *Workers Sheltering from the Rain*.[69] Billcliffe surmises that Guthrie's difficulties arose from his desire to make a complex figure composition that retained the sense of honesty and immediacy of a subject directly observed. He describes how Guthrie, in a similar way to Clausen, made numerous pencil sketches for his painting, *In the Orchard*, 1885-6 [fig.42] in an attempt to fix the pose of the central figures. However, the indecision evident in his drawings was transferred to the canvas as he has overworked the paint in certain areas giving a stiffness to the overall composition.[70] For two further years Guthrie attempted to overcome this temporary creative hiatus by accepting a series of portrait commissions organised by various family members.[71] It was not until the autumn of 1888, when he went to Stirling, that

[67] Billcliffe, 2008, pp.100-101; Morrison, 2014, pp.156-8.
[68] Caw, 1932, p.13.
[69] *Ibid*. p.24.
[70] Billcliffe, 2008, p.110.
[71] *Ibid*. p.170.

he felt able to return to the rural subject matter which had formed the mainstay of his artistic reputation. It is significant that he would choose pastel for this task as it allowed him to work on a smaller scale with a level of immediacy unattainable in paint and the range of textural and colour effects facilitated his experiments with more decorative handling.

Certainly, his pastels of rural workers from this period evidence considerable innovation. For example, in his pastel entitled *Women Working in a Field*, (*Harvesting*), 1888 [fig.10] which focuses on workers in the fields outside Stirling, Guthrie indicates the encroachment of modern life with a series of telegraph poles that bisect the composition and disrupt the harmony of the scene. The jarring effect is heightened by his use of sharp contrasts between both the colour of the field and the reddish brown poles as well as the soft areas of horizontal blending and the heavily rendered verticals. The powdery quality of the pastel enabled him to soften the focus and by using a loose technique suggest the action of the workers without resort to Clausen's insistence on sharpness, clarity and detail. He applied a similar approach to his handling of individual subjects. Thus, in *The Ropewalk*, 1888 [fig.43], the stone flagged floor is merely outlined with occasional touches of blue and black. The straight lines contrast with the arc of dangling threads as they are pulled taut by the centrally placed figure of a girl. She is lit from behind and this makes her form appear insubstantial as she emerges from the gloom. Strong contrasts enliven the piece as the darkness is illuminated by a square of iridescent green in the far distance, suggesting the considerable length of the shed required by the process of rope making. The impact

is both startling and affecting as it describes with vivid economy the girl's monotonous toil.

Guthrie's masterful handling of the setting in *The Ropewalk* demonstrates the challenges which artists faced when tackling the juxtaposition of light and shade which could create unusual and dramatic effects. Indeed, the scope for interior figure pieces at this time was increasing as the middle-class became content to be pictured at home participating in everyday activities as an alternative to stiffly posed studio pieces. Gas lamps extended the working day for all artists. However, painters were potentially disadvantaged because the time-consuming process of mixing paint in altered lighting conditions increased the possibility of a mesmeric effect, whereby colours are falsely perceived to be the same hue.[72] Pastellists, on the other hand, utilised pure colour which remained true, regardless of the light source. In addition, the availability of new fluorescent shades of green, orange and yellow were ideal for rendering bright artificial light whilst the powdery quality of the chalks could mirror the suffused light of an interior setting. Both Stott and Guthrie embraced the potential of pastel for making studies of friends and close family members. Prior to the 1880s, these highly personal depictions of home life tended to be confined to the artist's sketchbook and were rarely worked up into finished compositions. However, the versatility of pastel enabled these artists to establish their own different and distinctive stylistic interpretations of identical subject matter. Specifically, the ability to blend pastel tones directly on the paper surface allowed for a subtlety of execution which was immediate and did not entail a protracted reworking of compositional details more common in an oil painting.

[72] Hardin, C. L., 'Colour Science', *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics. Oxford Art Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed February 20, 2017.

Exploration of the contrasting suitability of these two media for certain processes and effects could only be achieved by trial and error. So, for example, on his return from France in 1884, Stott began to experiment with the angle of focus in his first interior multi-figure painting entitled *Portrait of my Mother and Father*, 1884. The profile pose of Stott's father in the foreground, his parents' demure attire and the flattened perspective of the scene are all reminiscent of Whistler's *Arrangements in Grey and Black.*[73] Stott's admiration for these two portraits and his clear indebtedness to Whistlerian style edged this piece towards pastiche and resulted in a damning critique in *The Manchester Guardian*, which described the picture as 'grotesque.'[74] Stott's reaction was to work with pastel on a smaller scale as it offered him a greater level of intimacy between not only the artist and his subject but also the artist's vision and its expression on the page. For example, in an 1884 series of pastel works that Stott made of his wife, his deft handling of colour and texture evokes the closeness between the pair when in the privacy of their own home.[75] In *Resting*, 1884 [fig.21] he has drawn Christina as she slumps into a high-backed chair. His choice of grey and black tones and use of blending, probably done with his finger or a stump, make Christina, her surroundings and mood work together in harmony. Yet, Stott was not content to limit himself to the smoky stump method. In a further study of his wife from the same year entitled *CMS Reading by Gaslight* 1884 [fig.44] he uses pastel to emphasise instead the chromatic possibilities of the scene. Stott here, works on a large-scale with an almost square, tightly framed composition favoured by Degas and De Nittis. He makes bold contrasts between the teal walls and the orange table cloth which are enlivened

[73] Brown, 2003, p.70.
[74] 'Two Winter Exhibitions', *The Manchester Guardian*, (1 Dec 1885), p.8.
[75] Stott, MS, 1896, p.20.

by his precise handling whereby no shade is allowed to blend into another. In addition, his use of horizontal lines compresses the composition adding to the sense of intimacy.

Pastel was also instrumental in Guthrie's move towards modern interior subject matter. Indeed, it was the only medium in which he tackled this type of work. He had learned from pieces such as *The Ropewalk*, 1888 that with pastel he could be more ambitious in terms of his handling of light and colour in interior space. Thus, in 1890 while staying in Helensburgh Guthrie made several pieces that feature Christine Whyte and her sisters, who were daughters of a family friend.[76] These works exhibit a new confidence with regard to the scale and expressivity of his pastel technique. For example, in *Causerie* 1890 [fig.45] Guthrie recorded his mother and Christine conversing while they were taking tea. His more ambitious approach to the subject matter saw him return to the large-sized paper that he had first used in *The Ropewalk*. For this picture, however, he dispensed with a standard portrait configuration and used instead a background which measured 50.8cm by 55.9cm. The almost square format allowed for the careful placement of the figures in order to suggest by their close physical proximity within the *mise en scène*, an impression of conviviality. His highly innovative use of pastel is evident in the strong downward strokes of vertical shading to the right of the two seated women which serve to delineate the interior space and draw the eye into the work. This device is reinforced by the large expanse of lightly worked table cloth, empty of all detail, which entirely fills the foreground of the picture. The emphasis on linearity is further strengthened by Guthrie's penchant for leaving large areas of the paper ground exposed. This then allows the light brown

[76] Caw, 1932, p.56.

colour of the paper to form a mid-tone against which vivid flashes of colour stand out. In particular, the striped blue and white teapot and the glass vase containing red flowers frame an ensemble of scattered posy vases. The sparing use of colour ensures that it has greater resonance within the whole composition. Guthrie's more expressive use of line can be seen in the crude handling of the sideboard to the rear of the picture. The finely observed detail of Christine's white dress cinched with a pink sash provides a contrast to the loose handling of the black dress and bonnet worn by Guthrie's mother whose wry smile denotes her ease at being in the company of her host. Caw has noted how the circular mirror on the wall above her head, 'catches mysterious lights, and an atmosphere of quiet charm and intimacy.'[77]

Such a feeling of immersion in an informal domestic scene is endorsed in another large-scale, square format pastel from this period entitled, *Firelight*, 1889 [fig.46]. These two works are comparable in terms of their handling and compositional layout, with an area to the right blocked out to suggest the shape of the room. This same strategy shifts the viewer's gaze towards the centrally placed fire and the two young women, who are glimpsed in its reflected glow. Their familiarity is suggested by the way in which the seated woman to the left luxuriates in the warmth of the fire whilst the other stands to the right, lost in thought, staring at the glowing embers. The composition is arranged to mirror the light radiating from the fire. To this end, Guthrie concentrates the highest density of pastel and the brightest shades on the hearth and fire surround. As the scene moves outwards from the centre he softens his focus and allows his technique to become looser and his palette to darken until finally the

[77] Caw, 1932, p.56.

foreground is suggested by just a few lines. The bravura effect attracted considerable praise when it was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890 with one critic describing it as both 'ingenious and attractive.'[78]

Guthrie's interiors evoke the sense of repose implicit in his acute observations of everyday life. But this period was also marked by the advent of hobbies such as tennis and cycling which were promoted in magazines and at public exhibitions.[79] The rapidity of line facilitated by pastel together with new pastel colours which matched vibrant fabric dyes meant that pastellists were well placed to convey accurately not only the physical exertion involved in the latest leisure pursuits but also the appropriate clothing. Thus, for example, Guthrie captures Christine Whyte dressed for a match in his finished pastel entitled *Tennis*, 1891, [fig.47]. In this work, the court is faintly rendered whilst the level of detail and bright tone of the dress, short jacket and straw hat make her outfit the main focus of the piece. Armstrong too, favoured scenes where the participants were engaged in some kind of activity that was framed by her use of titling. For example, in *Hide and Seek*, (II), (undated) [fig.48] she depicts a young woman wearing pink dress with a white ornamental collar, holding her straw bonnet at the start of the game. Her outfit acts both as an indication of her fashionable status and as a means for imbuing the piece with a sense of movement. Armstrong uses strongly rendered diagonal lines of pastel from a spectrum of red tints to suggest the sweep of the fabric as the woman turns outward from the tree to begin the search. This is contrasted with Armstrong's clever use of verticals in the background. These are built up using the laid lines of the paper as a foundation and then adding areas of

[78] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Standard*, (21 Oct 1890), p.3.
[79] Sumner, Ann, [et al.], *Court on Canvas*, (London: Philip Wilson, 2011); Fowle, 2008, pp.35-47.

directional hatching in browns and greens. The subtlety of this technique means that her model appears to be both absorbed by and separated from her environment. Her brown hair is only distinguishable against the dense woodland by a change in line from vertical to horizontal whilst the motion of her skirts has imperceptibly rippled into the meadow grass at her feet. This technique together with the light texture of the chalks and simple colour arrangement serve to lend a sense of frivolity to the piece that is in keeping with the woman and her seemingly carefree existence. Indeed, it was while working in pastel that Armstrong seemed most able to translate the dynamism of the scene into her composition. In another untraced pastel that was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery pastel show in 1890, entitled, *One, Two, Three and Away!* Birch described how 'the spontaneous grace of children's movements attract her powerfully, and realised as they were in her picture…she received the highest praise from well-known critics and exhibiting it later at the Paris International exhibition a medal was awarded to her.'[80] The fact that her pastels were held in such high esteem evidences Armstrong's technical and artistic achievement in matching the soft and mutable quality of the medium to her subject.

Despite Armstrong's sentimental treatment of safe subject matter, which she intended to exhibit, her use of line, bright colours and incorporation of the ground in pastel works like *Hide and Seek* (II) showed her to be at least as technically inventive as her former colleagues from the London Impressionists, including Starr and Steer. In the latter artist's work, *The Sprigged Frock*, 1890 [fig.49] it is possible to see that Steer is similarly preoccupied by marked shifts in handling, from subtle shading to dense

[80] Birch, 1906, p.42; *Paris Exposition Universelle de 1900*, Forbes is listed as receiving a Gold Medal Group II, Fine Arts, Class VII, 'Paris Exhibition Awards', *The Scotsman*, (17 Aug 1900), p.7.

directional strokes of colour which are applied equally to the sitter and her surroundings, thus creating a kind of synergy. The matching tones and angle of Steer's line on the back of the sofa, floor and wall lend an ambiguity to the space helping to foreground the woman. The treatment of the face, hair and flowing movement of fabric in both works is directly comparable and both artists exhibit a keen appreciation of pattern and surface texture. The close visual and artistic alliance between Armstrong and this circle of artists at the forefront of modern art in Britain was reinforced by her inclusion in their strategic take-over of the New English Art Club in 1888.[81] It is notable that when she and her future husband, Stanhope Forbes, subsequently exhibited works at the NEAC her untraced pastel *Shavings*, 1888 was awarded a class A, whilst his work, together with many of the more traditional naturalist images of the Newlyn school, were relegated to class B. Such an unexpected reversal of fortune, much lamented by Forbes, demonstrates conclusively that whilst the subject matter of her pastel works sometimes edged into genre, Armstrong more than held her own in the company of her innovative and avant-garde colleagues.[82]

Guthrie had already shown himself capable of significant stylistic originality in his studies of rural workers and intimate interiors. However, by making pastels of the fashionable residents of Helensburgh he was combining his feeling for light and movement with his growing interest in the lives of the middle-classes. Thus, in a work which was part of this series entitled, *On Board the Ivanhoe*, 1890 [fig.50] Guthrie tackles a complex multi-figure composition that showcases his confidence and

[81] 'A High Time for the Impressionists' *Glasgow Evening Times*, (19 April 1889), NEAC Press Cutting Book, Tate Archive, acc.no.7310/3.
[82] Stanhope Forbes to E. A. Armstrong, [n.d.], MS, Tate Archive, acc.no. 9015.2.2.100.

dexterity with the pastel medium. Guthrie depicts a crowd of passengers sitting on board the deck of the temperance pleasure steamer, *Ivanhoe*, as it sails down the river Clyde in 1890. His mastery of this material is shown in his use of the colour and rough texture of the light buff, rag paper which functions not only as a mid-tone but is incorporated into the piece as shown in the deck-boards in the lower right corner. This feature dominates the composition, making the work appear luminous and vibrant. Guthrie's technique is expressive rather than precise as can be seen in the crude description of the three passengers in the foreground who are indicated only by the faintest outlines in black and white chalk. In addition, flashes of colour are loosely applied in order to maximise their impact. For example, the eye is naturally drawn into the centre by his use of a rich orange tone for the leather cases and wood trim. This contrasts with the light translucent green dress worn by the little girl who is the main focus of the piece. By fixing some of the details with such precision, whilst leaving large areas of exposed ground, Guthrie has managed to suggest by his rapid sketchy style, the transitory nature of the scene.

The same use of line and bold colour contrasts to tackle modern-life subject matter is evident in a pastel made by Arthur Melville entitled *Two Girls in a Boat*, 1890 [fig.51]. Indeed, in Agnes Mackay's 1951 biography of Melville she surmised that the three pastels he made in 1890, 'were done as experiments, and with the generous idea of supporting the new [pastel] society in which James Guthrie was keenly interested.'[83] This assertion fails to recognise how Melville skilfully adapted his use of pastel to suit his own artistic concerns by using shards of pastel sticks side-on to render the women

[83] Mackay, A., *Arthur Melville (1855-1904): Scottish Impressionist*, (Leigh-on-Sea: F. Lewis Publisher, Ltd., 1951), p.79.

in a series of almost geometric shapes. The arrangement of vivid blocks of colour within this composition was typical of Melville's wider oeuvre during the period 1888 to 1890. Iain Gale has described how in Melville's watercolours of Morocco, he was, 'consistently preoccupied with that decorative quality of his image and the possibilities of conveying atmosphere and emotion…by means of the studied arrangement of colours on the paper.'[84] Such an individual interpretation of pastel demonstrates how the transfer of ideas about the medium between artists could be continuously developed and lead to the production of highly original artworks. This also explains the wide variety of new pastel styles to emerge as a result of the this trend. From the extant works of both Guthrie and Melville it is clear that for the modern pastellist, the main focus was on experimentation with the formal interaction between texture, pattern and colour on the picture surface.

Modern pastel portraits – the faces of the fin-de-siècle

These same aspects of the creative process informed the handling and subject matter of modern pastel portraits which differed significantly from their finely finished eighteenth-century predecessors. Yet, even into the mid-century some artists and theorists such as Charles Blanc in his book *Grammaire des Arts*, 1867 still considered that 'these crayons of a thousand shades' were uniquely adapted to capturing 'the brilliancy and tenderness of flesh-tints [and] the down of the skin'.[85] His apparent affirmation of pastel's materiality in fact conceals his belief that its use should again be confined to portraiture. However, the genre had itself undergone important changes since the turn of the nineteenth century. For instance, it was no longer the reserve of

[84] Gale, I., *Arthur Melville*, (London: Atelier Books, 1996), p.56.
[85] Blanc, C., trans. K. Doggett Newall, 1874, p.190.

the aristocracy but was now largely associated with the ranks of the affluent middle classes. In marked contrast to the formality of traditional eighteenth-century portraits these sitters demanded that their sense of style was represented by an aesthetic which matched their own fashion sense. Pastel was more suited to these aims than Blanc had implied. Indeed, its popular status meant that it was inherently fashionable to be depicted in this medium. In addition, the extensive array of colours which Blanc mentions were suitable not only for subtle flesh tones but could also be used to create harmonised compositions whereby the sitter's mood or personality was evoked by a dominant colour. The spontaneity of pastel allowed the modern artist to exploit to the full its potential for rapid note making to take account of expression and the position and lighting of the face, in a series of pastel sketches which could be used to adapt and refine the final composition, whether in pastel or oil paint. Clausen used this method to good effect by working up the preparatory pastel sketches for his oil painting, *Girl Lying in the Hay*, 1892. In particular, he used the pastel sticks to render the expressive line of the face. One of these studies [fig.52] demonstrates how the outline of the head, shoulder and placement of the features have been marked out in black chalk and then enlivened by vigorous hatching in flesh tones. The hay on which the girl is lying is only suggested by a few lines of bright yellow which is then used to pick out highlights around the mouth and near the ear. This suggests that Clausen was not only concerned about fixing the expression but also the colour relations between the sitter and her environment.

Clausen's experimentation with line and colour effects in his pastel sketches was often evident in his finished pastel drawings. Indeed, in his *Head of a Young Girl* (Rose

Grimsdale), 1889 [fig.53] which was part of a series of works that focused on this particular model including a full length pastel portrait, *Little Rose*, 1889 [fig.54] he seemed fascinated by the vibrancy of her auburn hair which was brought to its full intensity by the brightness of the pastel tones.[86] The orange hue of her hair is offset by purple shadows at the top her head whilst her profile is accentuated not only by the contrast between the colours but also the level of finish. The face and hair were both created using a stump to block out the dominant tone and then overlaid by diagonal hatching. The background, however, is more loosely rendered with much of the lower left corner of the paper left visible. This creates a corona effect that imbues the work with a brightness that was rare in Clausen's usually more measured tonalism. The technical originality of these works within Clausen's oeuvre is made more apparent when compared with his oil painting of the same model entitled, *Brown Eyes*, 1891 [fig.55]. In each medium he foregrounds the sitter against a richly textured background but the neutral palette of the painting lacks the visual impact of the pastel with its vivid colouring effects.

Guthrie, like Clausen, recognised the material potential of pastel for creating stylistically inventive portraits. However, his initial efforts with both the medium and the genre were very tentative as evidenced in his *Portrait of a Girl*, 1883, [fig.2]. As noted in chapter one, the subject is depicted in conventional three-quarter profile wearing a white gown with a light blue ribbon in her auburn hair. The portrait is marked by an uncharacteristic restraint and Guthrie's lack of confidence and expertise are reflected in his amateurish handling. In striving to achieve a painterly finish

[86] *Head of a Young Girl* exhibited at Grosvenor Gallery, 1888, cat.no.210; *Little Rose* exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery 1889, cat.no.134; See Appendices A-B.

Guthrie failed to exploit the full range of pastel effects and fell short of his usual exacting standards. It is telling then, that this pastel was not listed in Caw's informal catalogue of Guthrie's works. However, it is possible that Caw was simply unaware of its existence as the portrait only resurfaced from private ownership at a Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh auction in 2012.[87] By contrast, in another early work entitled, *A Young Lady*, 1886 [fig.56] Guthrie captures a very striking image of a woman from the waist up against the background of a wooded clearing. This may be the pastel that James Gardiner, whose portrait Guthrie painted in 1886, was said to have seen him working on while he was living at Cockburnspath.[88] The work has some features in common with Guthrie's other major painted work from this period, *In the Orchard*, 1886 [fig.42]. The models both have red hair and are dressed in dark clothing. There is also the gable-end of a farmhouse present in the background of both works although from different aspects. However, there are subtle differences that indicate this was not simply a study for the painting but clearly intended as an independent pastel portrait. Firstly, the scale of the models within their environment suggests that they are not the same age, with the woman from the pastel appearing more like a young adult than a girl. Her clothing, a high-necked dress with a lace collar, a cloak and black bonnet, is also much more refined and this may be indicative of her 'Sunday Best' outfit rather than her everyday attire.[89] Secondly, the fact that the pastel has been built up using layers of softly worked colour beginning with the bluish white of the sky glimpsed through the trees, then vertical stripes for the brown tree trunks and rubbed areas of

[87] Fine Paintings catalogue, (Sale 349), Lot 128, Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh (May 31, 2012).
[88] Caw, 1932, p.25.
[89] Johnston, Lucy, [et al.], *Nineteenth-century fashion in detail*, (Harry N. Abrams, 2009); Cunnington, W., *English Women's Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, (New York: Dover Publications, 1990), p.338

yellow and green foliage suggests that this is a finished piece in its own right. Yet, by gifting this work to his compatriot James Paterson, Guthrie may have viewed it as experimental and therefore more likely to be appreciated by a fellow artist.

The gradual evolution of a more confident and assertive style in Guthrie's pastel portraiture is evident in his uncompromising portrayal of a *Young Girl's Head* [fig.57] from 1888. In this work Guthrie amply demonstrates his dexterity with the medium using a number of different techniques in the realisation of his composition. Thus, the background appears almost like a velvet curtain of soft layers of pigment built up in rich blue hues. He must have marked out her silhouette in advance to ensure that this dark colour did not dirty the delicate treatment of her face and shoulders. The clarity of the flesh tones as well as the fine level of finish on the face mean that it is the main focus of the piece. Meanwhile, the crude appearance of the dress belies the complexity of his technique. Indeed, this was rendered by leaving much of the brown paper exposed to form the predominant tone of the fabric whilst shadows and highlights were added by faint smudges of colour picked out from the face and background. This subtle way of unifying the work was offset by the application of flat blocks of white chalk that suggested the sitter's pinafore. Unlike his earlier work this technique now had a bravura that lent a bold and decorative feel to the composition. Roger Billcliffe has even theorised that with this sophisticated technique Guthrie had 'endowed the young worker (who also appears in *The Ropewalk*) with the grace and gentility of the middle-class ladies who were to claim his attention in 1890.'[90]

[90] Billcliffe, 2008, p.246.

The importance of pastel for Guthrie's development as a portraitist was acknowledged by Caw who stated that between 1886 and 1890, his painted portraits were 'less significant and tended to be grimy in colour' but 'influenced by the experience gained when working in pastel, he followed them by several...[which] marked a great advance in flow and expressiveness of handling, and in gracefulness of design and colour.'[91] Certainly, in his painting, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother, Ann Orr*, 1893 [fig.58], he used thinned paint to create a looser finish in his rendering of the background and her clothing. He accentuates the inherent possibilities of the medium at hand in the flashes of red on the shawl which have been applied with a single, wide brushstroke creating a distinctly painterly effect. When these fluid motions are contrasted with the fine detail and luminous tones in the face, it lends the work the same spontaneity as the broad textural shifts of his pastels. It is clear then, that Guthrie's experiments with the pastel medium helped him to approach the genre in a new way, guided as much by the material used as by the personality of the sitter.

Of course pastel portraits were not always about projecting the social standing of their subject. Sometimes the artist used the suggestive quality of the medium to imbue the piece with a particular mood. An example of this type of portrait can be seen in a work by Stott which he cites in his notebook as "*Maud" in Rocking Chair*, 1886 [fig.59].[92] Subsequently, the title was changed to the more ambiguous, *Interior*, perhaps to protect the identity of the subject, Maud Franklin who had been Whistler's mistress since 1877 and with whom she had had an illegitimate child.[93] However, as she had

[91] Caw, 1908, pp.368-9
[92] Stott, MS, 1896, p.30.
[93] MacDonald, M., 'Maud Franklin,' in Ruth Fine, (ed.), 1987, pp. 13-26.

been the subject of numerous works by Whistler and had appeared publicly as his companion, even if she was not accepted as his partner by society, it seems more likely that the title was supposed to evoke a certain sense of introspection. This mood is continued by the sombre attire which Maud is wearing, her tight posture and clasped hands as well as the pensive expression on her face. Stott used the soft, crumbly texture of pastel to make the interior space where Maud is situated appear out of focus in the dim-light. This shadowy effect was achieved by creating a thin surface of blended grey tones on the window surround that allowed the brown tone of the paper to remain visible adding a sense of depth. Her feet and skirts are barely distinguishable in the dark shadows whilst her face and hands are finely rendered in bright flesh-tones as the light brings them into focus. The interior and exterior spaces are similarly contrasted by means of colour and level of finish. This emphasises the feeling that Maud is isolated and withdrawn from the world. This was not merely an artistic choice, however, as throughout the 1880s Maud suffered from ill-health and was frequently depicted while convalescing.[94] She was known to stay with Stott and his family during these episodes as the country air was considered beneficial for her health. Yet, at Ravenglass she was separated from Whistler and the cosmopolitan lifestyle she enjoyed in Chelsea. She was also invariably too weak to leave the house, being largely confined to a chair or a bed. Indeed, her physical frailty is matched by the friability of the medium. In this way, Stott's pastel portrait of Maud has a subtle intimacy that is indicative of the close friendship between the artist and his sitter. It is in many ways a more truthful rendition than Guthrie's portraits as Stott's use of the medium captures not only her likeness but also her emotions at what was a particularly

[94] There are references to her illness between 1884 and 1886 in the Whistler correspondence, system nos. 08716 and 09647.

difficult moment in her life. This makes clear that far from being the frivolous medium Blanc had insinuated it to be, pastel could be used to make portraits that offered a thought provoking glimpse into the real life of an individual.

Conclusion

The development of innovative pastel styles and techniques, exploring the inherent material qualities of the medium, allowed artists in the final decades of the nineteenth century to express the flux of modern life. Easily carried and always available for use, pastel was ideally suited to capture the moment in a *plein-air* setting. A typical example of such work is Guthrie's, *On Board the Ivanhoe*, 1890 [fig.49] where his quick, sketchy outlines and loosely applied flashes of colour fix both the fleeting aspect of a moving crowd and the sense of temporality in the scene itself. Pastellists then, tended to aim not for photographic accuracy but rather the fugitive and suggestive aspects of their observed world. By using the pastel sticks sideways on to block out colour, smudging the surface with a stump or breaking up the pastel sticks into shards, artists experimented with the medium itself and embraced its distinctive materiality. Pastel was no longer seen as a means of covering the entire picture surface with a smooth, painterly finish. Instead, the vital interaction between the medium and the ground was made apparent because sometimes artists deliberately left areas of the paper unworked. Tone and texture were foregrounded in a transparency of method which became part of the piece. This was what made pastel exciting and new and lent its revival that edge of avant-garde fervour.

The impact of French Naturalism was felt in the way in which artists recorded their impressions of the rural landscape. This subject matter was of particular relevance to Clausen's oeuvre. His pastel style, originally indebted to Naturalism, embraced two important elements. When he first adopted the medium, he valued its immediacy for expressive full-colour preparatory sketches which were never intended for public view. Their function was to assist in defining compositional details for his watercolours and oil paintings. This represented a form of traditional artistic practice employed by past masters. Clausen's initial experiments with pastel inspired him to accentuate and amplify his rapid, broad, sketchy style for finished pieces which he submitted for public exhibition. What made these works so striking when compared with his paintings, was their insistence on strong colour contrasts and lively handling to make evident his creative process. The variety of line, texture and colour that were available to artists working with pastel at this time, gave them the freedom to extend their artistic repertoire. Armstrong, for example, demonstrated a lightness of touch in her watercolours and etchings which is absent from her pastels. These were characterised by a vibrancy which is an integral part of her engagement with her subject. Thus, she used pastel in her carefully observed figurative studies to build up heavily worked areas of dense hatching which were juxtaposed to create a sense of movement or to subsume the figures within their landscape.

By contrast, Stott's early pastel style evolved to become more emotive and lyrical. In particular, his interpretation of nature owes much to the ideas of Symbolism. This led him to use pastel to suggest the landscape of the Cumbrian coast without recourse to any identifiable geographical features. In choosing to efface his mark-making by

lightly blending thin layers of chalk powders, he created striking harmonies which moved beyond representation and into something that was suggestive of mood. Pastel proved to be an effective means of translating such ethereal visions onto paper. Guthrie too, attempted something akin to Stott's poetic handling by applying the material ephemerality of pastel dust to his figure of the girl in *The Ropewalk*, 1888 [fig.43] who materialises from the shadows of the shed as an almost ghost-like presence. Stott's pastel studies of the Bernese Oberland (Autumn, 1888), some of which were undertaken at dawn, share this feeling of sudden and dramatic shifts between light and shade. Above all then, it was the mutability of pastel which recommended its use to the modern artist and it is significant that each of my four artists interpreted it in his or her own way. Even though they tackled similar subject matter, landscape, figurative studies and portraits, they made the medium their own by establishing distinctive styles based on individual experimentation. This was recognised by the critics who wrote the reviews for the Grosvenor Gallery exhibitions staged between 1888-1890 and whose task it was to analyse and interpret the works on show. They performed the very useful function of evaluating what it was that was different about the pastel revival and how that was reflected in the range of compositions. Indeed, the diversity between these artists' use of pastel is evidence of the interaction which existed between an individual artistic temperament and the medium at hand. It was this that defined these works as distinctly modern. Certainly, when viewed collectively these pastels demonstrated, in the words of Morley Roberts,

‘a higher level of uniform excellence than any collection of entirely modern art put before the public for many years’.[95]

[95] Roberts, M., ‘The Pastels at the Grosvenor’, *The Scottish Art Review*, (Dec, 1888), vol.1, no.7, p.178.

Chapter 3 Pastel Exhibitions and the politics of display

Introduction

As has been shown in chapter two, the 1880s witnessed an increasing number of British artists experimenting with the technical properties of pastel as part of their creative practice. The burgeoning popularity of pastel coincided with the expansion of exhibition culture in Britain and as a result, contemporary artists benefitted from a broad range of opportunities to display new types of media and artistic styles to a wider public. Thus, in the years prior to the first dedicated large-scale pastel shows staged at the Grosvenor Gallery between 1888 and 1890, several exhibiting societies and organisations made tentative efforts to incorporate pastels into their shows. By examining the different display strategies that were adopted it is possible to reveal some of the challenges related to foregrounding the peculiar qualities of this medium. Crucial among these was the management of exhibition space with regard to the size of the works, spacing and placement alongside works in other media. As alluded to in chapter one, British artists could learn from international prototypes about how to stage a modern pastel exhibition. The American Society of Painters in Pastel held their inaugural show in 1884 whilst the Société de Pastellistes Français followed suit in 1885. The exhibition policies chosen by these two societies differed fundamentally. At issue was whether to focus solely on the present day or to include examples of national pastel art from the past. The Americans favoured the first option and limited the number of contributors to a small cohort of contemporary American pastel artists. The French, on the other hand, sought to emphasise their historical prowess with the pastel medium by interspersing the works of French masters of the past with modern

French pastels. It is important therefore to establish the extent to which these ideas informed the selection of works and the hang at the Grosvenor Gallery and affected the way in which the pastel shows were received by artists, critics and collectors in Britain.

As part of this assessment, I have analysed many of the extant catalogues produced to accompany exhibitions featuring pastels in Britain. The resulting data discloses the number of works displayed, the exhibiting patterns of those who would take up the medium during the 1880s and the evolving status of pastel in exhibition hierarchies. The reception of pastel works was recorded in exhibition reviews which have been sourced from a variety of publications including local and national newspapers, comic serials, women's magazines as well as specialist art journals. The broad range of press coverage of events like the pastel exhibitions serves to illustrate not only the ready access which audiences across Britain had to cultural commentary but also the scope of critical perspectives on pastel as an art form. These gallery reviews articulate a personal response to the works displayed. Their subtext was to itemise for the viewing public, the pictures which were deemed worthy of attention. Then, as now, the sensational and the exciting attracted the crowds. The reputation of galleries such as the Grosvenor was augmented by promoting the latest pastel trend thereby confirming the avant-garde status of the medium for aspiring modern artists, and potential collectors. This successful strategy encouraged other exhibiting bodies to take advantage of the critical interest generated by the pastel shows. Both the New English Art Club and the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts made efforts to incorporate works in pastel into their annual exhibitions. At the same time, such an overt emphasis on

the contemporaneity of pastels attracted consternation from those who believed that this was a frivolous fad and represented the further deterioration of artistic standards in modern art. The persistence of potentially damaging dialogue has led me to conclude the chapter by reflecting on how the critical reception of these shows affected the impetus of the pastel movement and the continuing display of pastels after the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890.

Exhibition opportunities for pastels prior to 1888

From my discussion in chapter one, regarding the availability of examples of contemporary work in pastel for British artists to study, it is evident that there were some opportunities for artists to display works in this medium prior to 1888. This section aims then to move beyond the work of individual artists to a broader consideration of the various exhibition policies adopted by other artistic institutions with regard to the promotion of pastels. As the Royal Academy was the central focus of the exhibition season, attracting over 12,000 submissions annually, of which only 10 to 15% were accepted, its position vis-à-vis pastel and other works on paper was crucial for informing the public status of these media. An assessment must therefore be made of the impact of the Academicians' preference for large-scale, historical or narrative paintings, on the lack of public visibility afforded to pastel works.[1] At the same time, this was also a period when the Academy's selection and display procedures were attracting considerable criticism from artists and press alike. Most of these complaints focused on the exclusion or poor hanging of work by artists who employed unconventional styles and subject matter or media other than oil paint.

[1] Lamb, 1935, p.108.

Artists resented the loss of the professional and financial benefits that came from displaying their artworks in the biggest and most widely publicised show of the year. Thus, from the early nineteenth century onwards a number of new exhibiting initiatives were formed to support the type of works that were not readily accepted or hung to advantage in the Academy. These included institutions dedicated to specific media and those with a particular interest in contemporary British styles. For the early promotion of pastel then, this diverse range of exhibiting bodies provided a vital outlet where artists could display their work in a more favourable environment. It is important therefore to assess what strategies were developed by the Academy and other independent institutions in order to incorporate works in pastel and the extent to which these helped to encourage the trend for the medium in Britain. It is also necessary to consider what motivated these organisations to diversify their exhibition policies and what long-term implications their early display strategies would have for future pastel shows.

The Royal Academy as an institution held considerable sway when it came to shaping public perceptions of different art forms and artistic styles. This position of authority was perpetuated by the rules that governed the Academy and the influence of those elected to serve on the exhibition hanging committee. The rules set the number of submissions permitted by both Academicians and outsiders. This meant that the exhibition was dominated by the art establishment whose work served to propagate their perception of what constituted 'good British art'. D. S. MacColl (1859-1948) later described this style as being defined by 'propriety, breezy robustness,

prettiness…enclosing a few sentiments [and] a humorous waggishness'.[2] Similarly, these works were selected according to an entrenched media hierarchy. Thus, in the same year as the first pastel exhibition in 1888, oil paintings accounted for 53.8% of the overall hang and the majority of these works were historical scenes, genre subjects and society portraits.[3] However, this emphasis on large-scale, highly-finished, narrative-based paintings had serious implications when it came to the promotion of new styles and lesser media. The limitation on submissions and the fierce competition to be selected meant that artists were reluctant to submit any works that were seen as experimental or small-scale as they were far more likely to be rejected. Thus, in the same year, 633 works on paper (excluding miniatures) were submitted, of which 45 were described as crayon drawings. This category almost certainly included pastels along with works executed in chalk or wax crayons. It is revealing then that 'crayon drawings' accounted for a miserly 0.02% of the total number of works exhibited, excluding sculpture.[4] By admitting a paltry amount of such works, the RA was reinforcing the impression that these pieces were inconsequential and as a result they were invariably overshadowed within the context of the exhibition as a whole.

This situation was exacerbated by the fact that even when pastels were accepted into the exhibition they were grouped with other works on paper and relegated to the watercolour room which, after 1878, was separated from the main exhibition space in

[2] MacColl, D. S., *Nineteenth Century Art*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1902), p.110.
[3] 'In the summer exhibition of this year 1900 works were exhibited, 1023 paintings, 307 watercolour drawings, 144 sculpture, 185 architectural drawings, 100 miniatures and enamels, 45 crayon drawings, engravings 39 and etchings 57' *Annual Reports from the Council of the Royal Academy to the General Assembly of Academicians for the year 1888*, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 14 Charing Cross, 1889), p.24.
[4] *Ibid.*

a newly-built extension [fig.60]. This only served to confirm their lowly status. In addition, the diminutive size of the works was emphasised by the nickname, 'Gem Room' that was used by both Academicians and critics to describe this section of the show.[5] The exhibition catalogues included sufficient information, to distinguish between prints and drawings but frequently failed to give the specific medium in which drawings were executed.[6] This may seem like an oversight in such a large show but given that the average number of paying visitors to the summer exhibition was 315,000, this was a missed opportunity to inform and educate the wider public about the technical differences between pencil and charcoal, pastel and watercolours.[7] Occasionally exceptions were made to this rule. As previously mentioned in chapter one, Frederick Sandys exhibited two pieces that were labelled as chalk drawings in 1880 [fig.7]. A critic from *The Examiner* noted that, 'it is disappointing to find that Mr Frederic (sic) Sandys has no great work' but he was forced to concede that the pictures were 'executed with that marvellous manipulative diversity and exquisite taste for which this artist is unrivalled.'[8] Again, it is revealing that despite the medium being listed in the catalogue, this review avoided any mention of its specific material qualities and instead foregrounded the artist's ability to adapt its use to his own style. In this way, the review mirrors the dismissive attitude towards 'lesser' media that was reinforced by the RA's exhibition hierarchy.

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[5] Leslie, G. D., *The Inner Life of the Royal Academy*, (London: John Murray, 1914), pp.80 and 132.
[6] I have consulted *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts*, [exh.cats.], 1878-1888, 109th-119th annual shows, (London: printed by William Clowes), held in the Royal Academy of Arts Archive, London.
[7] Hutchinson, S., *The History of the Royal Academy 1768-1986*, (London: Chapman & Hall, 1986) p.112.
[8] 'The Exhibition of the Royal Academy [second notice]', *The Examiner*, (8 May 1880), p.579.

Indeed, so ingrained were the Academy's prejudices against pastel specifically that the situation was satirised by a writer for the weekly, illustrated comic journal *Fun*, (1874) who grandly announced that,

> 'the astonishing pastel drawings of Mr Chalkyfingers, A.R.A. "The Broken Plate," "Study of Mackerel," "Lobster, Oyster Shell and Blacking Bottle," "Head after Guido," &c., will not be exhibited inside the Royal Academy but on the pavement outside Burlington House. The exhibition will be gratuitous; but it is expected that Mr Chalkyfingers will be presented with several bronze medals by an appreciative public.'[9]

Although this comment is brief and acerbic it neatly encapsulates many of the misconceptions that prevented the RA from being a suitable place to promote pastels effectively. The sarcastic astonishment aroused by these mere drawings and their hackneyed subject matter reinforces the prejudice that works in pastel were insufficiently rigorous to be seen on the Academy's walls. Press support for this policy of exclusion explains why the pastel movement appeared to be such a novelty to British audiences who rarely had the opportunity to study its peculiar qualities in the biggest national art institution. Thus, if the trend for pastel were to prosper artists would have to look elsewhere for opportunities beyond the RA and its exhibition model.

The oldest and most established society to break away from the RA was The Society of Painters in Watercolour (now the Royal Watercolour Society) which was founded in 1804 with the express purpose of foregrounding the special qualities of the medium by hosting an annual exhibition.[10] This organisation then split into the Old and New Watercolour Society in 1831 due to the desire of the 'New' contingent to admit the

[9] 'Literary and Artistic Gossip', *Fun*, (25 April 1874), p.172.
[10] Fenwick, S., and Smith, G., *The Business of Watercolour: A Guide to the archives of the Royal Watercolour Society*, (London: RWS, 1997), p.37.

work of non-members. Despite these internal divisions the RWS was an essential forerunner for a plethora of new art institutions which were formed from the mid-century onwards. These organisations challenged the discriminatory hierarchy of the RA by privileging the type of media or styles that it typically overlooked. The formation of these specialised groups further revealed the RA's contradictory approach to the classification of works on paper. Indeed, Greg Smith has shown that if watercolours and pastels were admitted as 'drawings' they were subject to the Academy's punitive rules but if they were shown as 'paintings' then they were accorded equal status with works in oil paint.[11] The only distinction between these two definitions appears to be whether or not the piece was deemed artistic or artisanal in technique and finish. Crucially then, the watercolour society provided a vital alternative to this system by working to define the parameters of its own discipline. For example, the RWS recently stated that a watercolour was any work in a water-based medium on paper.[12] By focusing on the material as the unifying factor between broad ranges of watercolour styles and techniques, the society was able to elevate this practice to the status of a nationally-recognised art form. Their efforts in this direction were encouraging for all alternative media practitioners and therefore it is notable that several of the artists who used pastel in the 1880s were also active members of the Society of Painters in Watercolour.[13] However, in spite of their enlightened views they chose to retain many of the Academy's hierarchical and overcrowded display procedures which precluded the effective display of small-scale pastel works.

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[11] Smith, G., *The Emergence of Professional Watercolourists: contentions and alliances in the artistic domain, 1760-1824*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp.23-4.
[12] https://www.royalwatercoloursociety.co.uk/about/ accessed 19/02/2017.
[13] See appendices A-C for those with associate or membership status of the RWS. Many artists exhibited at this institution but were not active members. Exhibitors to the RWS have not been recorded in the appendices.

In order to reinvent the reputation of pastel and demonstrate its versatility in a modern context, the British pastellists could look to the example provided by the recent revival in etching.[14] Thus, in late 1880 the Society of Painter-Etchers was founded by Seymour Haden (1818-1910) to publicise the merits of different types of etching to contemporary artists. This was a small, focused society that benefitted from having a well-connected and experienced leader who could shape both the membership and the display policies in a progressive direction. The inaugural show included pieces by 73 founder members including such well-known names as Edward J. Poynter (1836-1919) and James Tissot (1836-1902).[15] Their intention was to show what was specific to etching as a practice and offer a retrospective display of its progress in England. Certainly, Cosmo Monkhouse recognised that 'in all of these slight and, as it may appear to some, hasty and barren designs there is the germ of a whole picture; a definite suggestion not only of the main line and masses and their relations but of the scheme of chiaroscuro and the quality of atmosphere.'[16] Monkhouse's emphasis on the qualities of line and aspects of light and shade unique to etching reveals the pervading influence of P. G. Hamerton's approach to art criticism. Hamerton, as previously mentioned in chapter two, championed the idea that artists should allow the technical qualities of the medium to inspire their creativity. His ideas culminated in the production of his magnum opus, *The Graphic Arts*, 1882 but the essential outline of his treatise had been rehearsed in the monthly art periodical, *The Portfolio*, which he established in 1870. The impact of this greater focus on materiality offered artists and

[14] Sell, Stacey, '"The Interesting and Difficult Medium": The Silverpoint Revival in Nineteenth-century Britain', *Master Drawings*, (Spring, 2013), **51**; 1, pp.63-86.
[15] 'Art Chronicle', *The Portfolio*, 12, (Jan 1881), p.166.
[16] Monkhouse, C., 'The Society of Painter-Etchers', *The Academy*, (9 April 1881), no.466, p.268.

exhibition organisers increased opportunities to use and promote trends in so-called lesser media. Thus, the organisational precedents established by the Society of Painter-Etchers together with the associated publications may have exercised a strong influence on the staging of the first pastel shows.

The practical implementation of these ideas still depended upon obtaining a forum where the work of pastellists would be accorded equal status when forming part of a mixed-media display. In the mid-1880s an unlikely champion was found in the Society of British Artists. This society was founded in 1823 as an intermediary organisation that artists could join while they worked their way up to full membership of the RA. Indeed, being elected to the SBA had become almost a prerequisite to joining the RA. Thus, the ethos and artistic values of these two organisations were always closely linked. However, by the 1880s this model had caused the SBA to suffer a serious decline in visitor numbers and the bi-annual exhibitions were considered to be miscellaneous collections of those pictures that were not good enough to be shown at the RA. By 1884 the society was almost bankrupt due to falling sales, spiralling exhibition costs and an inability to collect membership subscriptions.[17] It needed to reform itself in order to survive in a competitive art market. Seeing an opportunity for establishing a mutually beneficial relationship, Walter Sickert approached his friend and long-serving treasurer of the SBA, Albert Ludovici Snr. (1820-1894) about having Whistler elected as a member in 1885. Whistler brought much needed publicity to the ailing society and in return it afforded him a certain level of freedom to reform existing exhibition practices.[18] Both sides seemed committed to change, with the Society

[17] Council Minutes of the SBA, 1884-91, V&A Archive, Blythe House, London, Ref: AAD/1997/8/9.
[18] Robins, 2007, p.47.

briefly suspending normal balloting procedures to ensure that Whistler was elected to the council and later conceding to his meteoric rise to President of the organisation. In return Whistler diligently attended monthly meetings, forwarded numerous practical suggestions and even loaned money and materials for exhibition displays.[19] In this way, artists who were experimenting with pastel were afforded greater opportunities to display works in a setting that was specially designed to show them off to their best advantage.

Armstrong had exhibited at the Society since 1884 but Stott was a direct beneficiary of Whistler's new-found authority as he was put forward for membership in 1885. Both artists submitted works to the winter exhibition of 1885-6 while Whistler was serving on the council.[20] For the most part these were paintings but significantly Stott chose to submit one of the pastel portraits he had made of his wife entitled, *By the Fireside*, 1884 [fig.61].[21] Yet, this was only a tentative attempt on the part of the SBA to accept works that were potentially challenging for their typically conservative audiences. Indeed, the Society's entrenched traditionalism is perhaps best demonstrated by the fact that in an overt reference to the Academy's antiquated hierarchies, Stott's pastel was relegated to the 'watercolour room' along with all the other works on paper. This situation was rectified during the following year when Whistler implemented his programme of presidential reforms. He began by reducing the number of works from an average of 750 to 500 in the winter 1886-7 show and just

[19] *Op.cit*.
[20] RBA catalogues, 1882-6, book 7, V&A archive, Blythe House, London, ref. AAD/1997/8/4/.
[21] In his notebook he calls this work *Auprès du foyer* but in the catalogue for the show the English title is used. This work is discussed in greater depth in chapter four. He also sent *Portrait of my Mother and Father*, (oil on canvas), 1884 and *Moonrise*, (oil on canvas), 1885. Stott, MS, 1896, pp.19, 21 and 24.

270 by the spring 1887 exhibition. He went on to streamline the catalogue, replacing the cluttered list of artists, works and prices with a simple volume that gave only the artist, title and medium where necessary.[22] Indeed, both the catalogue and the display had been modified to eschew the commercial emphasis of the Society's exhibition. It is also noteworthy that despite featuring fewer works, the show now had a greater number of works in lesser media including watercolours, etchings and pastels. These works were arranged across all the galleries as opposed to being isolated in one room and the space was unified by a discreet brown and gold colour scheme.[23] This new display strategy certainly attracted the attention of the press, one of whom commented on the space that each work was afforded, noting 'everything that is exhibited can really be seen – the good as good, the bad as bad, when bad there is.'[24] By allowing each piece to stand on its own merits, Whistler had created one of the first opportunities for British artists to have their works in pastel accorded a status equal to their paintings. Thus, in 1887 Stott was able to show three of his pastels whilst Armstrong sent two.[25] However, the close visual and professional association between these artists and Whistler meant that their efforts were often overlooked by reviewers who felt that they were blindly emulating their master's style and technique. One critic from *The Saturday Review* even cautioned that Whistler's continued influence might cause the SBA exhibition to 'degenerate into an echoing chamber of the utterances of a few clever men.'[26] It was essential therefore, that pastellists engaged with a wider British

[22] SBA catalogues, 1886-9, book 8, V&A archive, Blythe House, London, ref. AAD/1997/8/42.
[23] 69th Meeting of the Council, 22 Nov 1886, Council Minutes of SBA, 1884-1891, V&A Archive, Blythe House, London, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/9; 'The Society of British Artists', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (30 Nov 1886), p.4.
[24] 'The Society of British Artists', *The Academy*, (16 Apr 1887), no.780, p.278.
[25] Stott, no.52, *Summer Moonlight*, 1885, no.54, *Starry Night*, 1884-5, no.176, *Summer Day*, 1886; Armstrong, no.251, *Hatching Mischief* and no.256, *Cuckoo*, 1887, [fig.76], (Discussed in chapter four) SBA exh.cat., April 1887, ref. AAD/1997/8/42.
[26] 'Picture Galleries', *The Saturday Review*, (9 April 1887), p.515.

audience by finding an exhibiting organisation which did not overtly prioritise Whistlerian style.

International Prototypes for Exhibiting Pastels

Such was the growing international reputation of pastel, that artists in America and France began to form professional organisations to support the display of works in this medium. The American Society of Painters in Pastel, founded in 1882, was followed in 1885 by the Société de Pastellistes Français. The policy which underpinned the exhibition of pastel pictures in both countries reflected national preoccupations. So, for example, the small-scale American show aimed at demonstrating a distinctive style of modern pastel art in America. Unlike their American counterparts, the French show was much larger featuring a mixture of contemporary pastels and those by past masters of the art form in an attempt to emphasise the strong history that French artists had with this medium.[27] By adopting different organisational structures and means of displaying pastels, these dedicated societies exemplified two contrasting models for combining often diverse individual talents into a coherent exhibition.

Thus, the American Society of Painters in Pastel was initially formed by five artists who were all working in New York in 1882. They were William Merritt Chase, Robert Blum, J. Carroll Beckwith (1852-1917), Hugh Bolton Jones (1848-1927) and Edwin H. Blashfield (1848-1936). As previously discussed in chapter one, this cohort shared an interest in the latest Continental styles and techniques which they had experienced first-hand as a result of extended trips to Europe.[28] Chase had studied at the Munich

[27] Ballu, R., 'La Société de Pastellistes Français', *Revue Illustrée*, (Dec 1887-Jun 1888), vol.5, p.288.
[28] Pilgrim, 1978, pp.47-8.

Art Academy in the mid- to late 1870s whilst Jones, Beckwith and Blashfield all spent time in Paris during the late 1870s studying at the Académie Julian under Carolus-Duran (1837-1917) and Léon Bonnat (1833-1922) respectively.[29] Their formal training was supplemented by living and working in Europe. For example, Jones met Edwin Abbey (1852-1911), another accomplished American pastellist living in London before moving to the artists' colony in Pont-Aven, for nearly four years.[30] In contrast, Blum, who had never undertaken any formal training in Europe, spent time with Whistler while he was staying in Venice along with several other American artists including J. Henry Twachtman (1853-1902) and Frank Duveneck (1848-1919).[31] As these men returned to America, they immediately began to share their experiences with a new generation of young artists by setting up the same kind of progressive art organisations that they had encountered overseas. They were particularly passionate about freer techniques and alternative media. Thus, in 1882 Chase and Blum founded the New York Club for Etching and the following January they announced their intention of forming an American Society of Painters in Pastel in *The Art Amateur*.[32] However, it would be another two years before they were able to stage the inaugural exhibition for the latter society. This suggests that whilst there was enthusiasm for pastel amongst a small contingent of modern artists in America it was not as well-established as etching and that a certain amount of time had to be afforded to artists to become proficient in its use.

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[29] Morris, 2005, pp.124-5.
[30] Dearinger, D. B., *Paintings and Sculpture in the National Academy of Design*, (Vermont: Hudson Hills Press, 2004), p.326; *Catalogue of a Collection of Studies in Pastel by Edwin A. Abbey*, [exh.cat.], (London: Fine Art Society, Oct 1895), pp.3-10.
[31] MacDonald, 2001, p.29.
[32] Montezuma, 'My note book', *The Art Amateur*, (Jan 1883), **8**; 2, p.29.

Certainly, when the first exhibition of the American Society of Painters in Pastel opened on the 17th March 1884, many critics felt that it was necessary to supplement their reviews with an explanatory summary of the medium's peculiar qualities and the techniques used by some of the European masters who had inspired this latest endeavour. [33] Although the show was entirely dedicated to work by young American artists, a reviewer for the *New York Times* made special mention of artists like Millet, de Nittis and Whistler, whose combined talents he believed had convinced 'the world that good pictures could be made by using a material which might be called "colored charcoals" to express its main characteristics of color, dryness, friability and the ability to blend.'[34] It was in these terms that many critics would assess the quality of the works on display. For example, in Blum's, *A Gossiping Place in Venice*, 1882 [fig.17] Whistler's influence is made manifest in the similar subject matter and tendency to restrict the palette to a few sticks which were used sparingly, leaving some of the ground exposed. It was perhaps this visual similarity which led one reviewer to remark with some cynicism that whilst there was evident in the show a level of 'professional dexterity, there was but little to attract the searcher after an art that exists for something besides its own sake.'[35] Indeed, the main criticism of the show was that the artists involved were reinforcing the idea that pastel was an insubstantial or purely decorative medium, lacking the necessary rigour to be judged as a serious art form. However, most reviewers appreciated that this exhibition was much more than an assemblage of pretty pictures. Thus, Mary Gay Humphreys recognised that with Chase's sixteen contributions, he 'essays pastel in a number of widely varying subjects, and uses them

[33] Bolger, D. [et al.], 1989, p.6.
[34] 'The Painters in Pastel,' *New York Times*, (17 March 1884), p.5.
[35] 'The Pastel Exhibition,' *The Art Amateur*, (May 1884), **10**: 6, p.123.

as he might an eloquent argument. He pleads for a client, not for himself.'[36] This observation reveals that these artists were attuned to many of the existing prejudices towards not only the medium but also the modern styles of art with which they were experimenting. It appears from the reviews that they attempted to counter these negative associations by showcasing both their own and the medium's full technical repertoire. This tactic combined with the relative novelty of the medium in America meant that the exhibition appears to have been a critical success. Indeed, in one particularly positive review the author noted that,

> 'If any proofs were needed of the abundant energy, cleverness, and versatility possessed by young American painters, none more brilliantly conclusive could have been given than the fifty or sixty pastels of which this exhibition consisted. Originality, brightness, dash, coupled with a certain audacity in style and treatment, were among the chief characteristics of this collection which at first surprised and ended by delighting, both the public and the critics.'[37]

One year after the inaugural exhibition of the American Society of Painters in Pastel, the burgeoning popularity of the pastel medium in France was recognised by the formation of the Société de Pastellistes Français. This organisation was structured quite differently from the close-knit group of American artists who aimed to promote the medium to those who were in sympathy with their enthusiasm for the latest European artistic trends. Indeed, the French society was not even primarily an artist-led initiative but rather was the invention of Roger Ballu (1852-1908) who was the Inspector General of Fine Arts and Georges Petit (1856-1920) who volunteered the use of his gallery on the Rue de Sèze for an annual pastel exhibition for a fifteen-year term. According to one reviewer, the idea for organising such a Society occurred to

[36] Humphreys, M. G., 'Exhibition of Painters in Pastel,' *The Decorator and Furnisher*, (May 1884), p.57.
[37] 'The First Exhibition of the American Painters in Pastel', *The Art Journal*, (May 1884), p.157.

Ballu after he viewed 'L'Exposition des Dessins du siècle' at L'Ecole des Beaux-Arts in 1884.[38] He recognised the strong tradition of pastel art in France and wanted to stage an exhibition that would reaffirm the superiority of the type of established drawing techniques taught at the Académie des Beaux-Arts. He was supported by several artists, including William Bouguereau, Clausen's former teacher, as well as Guillaume Debufe (1853-1909) and Adrien Moreau (1843-1906) who shared Ballu's passion for traditional artistic styles. All these men were also members of l'Association des artistes, peintres, architectes, graveurs et dessinateurs du Baron Taylor which was a funding body set up by the late Baron Isidore Justin Séverin Taylor (1789-1879) to support Arts projects.[39] This organisation was not only the main sponsor of the French pastel exhibitions but pieces from Baron Taylor's estate were also lent to the inaugural show in order to enhance the prestige of the collection. Thus, Ballu's Société de Pastellistes Français benefitted from the support of an important gallery owner, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts artists and the generosity of a major financial donor. Armed with all of these resources Ballu was well placed to host a first-rate exhibition that would have popular appeal for artists and audiences alike.

In the event, the show was dogged by criticism which focused on Ballu's decision to display the works of historic French pastellists such as de La Tour and Pierre-Paul Prud'hon (1758-1823) alongside contemporary members of the Société. Whilst the inclusion of earlier examples of pastel art was designed to showcase the modern reinvention of the pastel medium, one critic attributed 'the main success of the

[38] 'Causerie Artistique', *La Revue Normande et Parisienne*, (Avril 1885), p.99.
[39] 'French patron, man of letters, artist, soldier, diplomat and administrator, of English parentage.' Stevenson, L., 'Taylor, Isidore Justin Séverin' *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed 16 August 2016.

exhibition at the rue de Sèze…to the incontestable masters of the genre and to the eighteenth century.'[40] Others targeted specific artists whose work they felt most strongly demonstrated the decline of artistic standards in France. Thus, Octave Mirbeau's attack on James Tissot was based on his belief that the artist had plagiarised popular aspects of the latest French and British art in a cynical bid to attract patrons. He described Tissot's pastel of a woman in a black dress and white fur coat as a poor copy of Whistler's full-length portrait of the same subject and said that it would serve only as a decoration in a lavatory.[41] Mirbeau's contempt for this particular picture is then immediately counterposed by his admiration for the seventeen pastels of M. de Nittis, 'of which a few are extremely important and count as the most [significant] of his oeuvre.'[42] Ballu later attributed the mixed reception of contemporary pastels to the timing of the show, just prior to the main exhibition season which meant that only 22 of the 30 founder members were able to send works. In addition, he claimed that despite adverse criticism, the show had an immediate resonance with artists as sets of pastels sold out in colour merchants across Paris and the society received 65 new applications for membership.[43] His defensive stance highlights many of the challenges facing the organiser of a modern pastel exhibition and in this way the Société provided an important lesson for artists working towards this end in the UK.

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[40] '*Le principal succès de l'Exposition de la rue de Sèze a, du reste, été pour les maitres [sic] incontestés du genre et du dix huitième* [sic] *siècle.*' *Op.cit.*, p.100.

[41] '*Son portrait de femme en robe noire et manteaux de fourrure blanche est littéralement copié d'un magnifique portrait de Whistler qui figura, au Salon, il y a trois ans…Néanmoins les amis et familiers des petites dames s'extasient fort devant les productions de M. Tissot qui sont, paraît-il, indispensables à l'ameublement des cabinets de toilette'* Mirbeau, O., 'Les Pastellistes Français' *La France*, (9 April 1885) repr. in Mirbeau, 1922, p.35. From the description, it is likely that Mirbeau is referring to Whistler's, *Arrangement in Black No.5: Lady Meux*, 1881, oil on canvas, 194.3 x 130.2cm, Honolulu Museum of Art.

[42] *'dont quelques-uns sont fort importants et comptent le plus dans son œuvre.' Ibid.*

[43] Ballu, R., 'La Société de Pastellistes Français', *Revue Illustrée*, (Dec 1887-Jun 1888), vol.5, p.288.

The Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Exhibitions 1888 to 1890

Despite the limited possibilities for pastel artists to display their works in British exhibitions there was clearly growing enthusiasm for the medium particularly amongst those artists who had international connections and kept abreast of modern artistic developments. Indeed, by 1888, Clausen had been using the medium for sketching for almost ten years and had produced several accomplished finished works in the medium. Armstrong too was well connected with regard to the trend for modern pastels having been an associate of Chase in New York and Whistler in London. She had already exhibited two of her pastel works at the Society of British Artists.[44] This was a venue favoured by Stott, who also exploited opportunities to exhibit his pastels further afield in Manchester, Liverpool and Aberdeen. However, it became apparent that the advancement of the pastel medium was contingent upon finding an exhibition space where pastels were promoted as works of art in their own right instead of being relegated to a subsidiary role in mixed-media exhibitions. British pastellists were also painters and many of them had already contributed to the annual summer painting exhibitions at the Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street, London.[45] The artists whose reputations were confirmed by the gallery also spearheaded the reputation of the Grosvenor, later described by Christopher Newall as 'a showplace of modern art and a force for change.'[46] It is unsurprising then, that this would become the location for three dedicated pastel exhibitions, held between 1888 and 1890.

[44] no.251 and no.256, SBA cat. 1887, book 8, V&A archive, ref. AAD/1997/8/42.
[45] 57 of the 234 artists (24.3%) who contributed to *The Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition 1888* also contributed to one of the three pastel exhibitions. See appendices A-C.
[46] Newall, 1995, p.6.

The first pastel exhibition 1888

From the time of its opening in 1877 the Grosvenor Gallery had been at the forefront of innovation in British art and display policies. It had played host to several distinguished names including Edward Burne-Jones (1833-1898) and Whistler and boasted some of the best facilities of any commercial gallery in London including electric lighting, an extensive circulating library and a club room for refreshments.[47] Its owner Sir Coutts Lindsay (1824-1913) was the eldest son of Lieutenant-General Sir James Lindsay, son of the Hon. Robert Lindsay, second son of James Lindsay, 5th Earl of Balcarres. His mother was Anne, daughter of Sir Coutts Trotter, 1st Baronet and principal partner in Coutt's Bank. His financial and social credentials were enhanced as a result of his marriage to Caroline Blanche Elizabeth Fitzroy (1844-1912) who was the daughter of the Rt. Hon. Henry Fitzroy and his wife Hannah Mayer de Rothschild. Their combined wealth and aristocratic connections enabled them to indulge their shared passion for all aspects of the arts and foreign travel.[48] Sir Coutts Lindsay was undoubtedly aware of the growing international popularity of pastel and chose to place himself at the forefront of its promotion in Britain. Indeed, the importance of his personal involvement in this scheme is revealed in an article that appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* immediately prior to the official opening of the first pastel exhibition in which the reviewer explained that,

> 'Sir Coutts Lindsay, in the conviction that the virgin ground to which he has set the plough is capable of producing the most desirable results, both material and artistic, organised a brilliant little evening, when art-writers and artists in pastel,

[47] Denney, C., 'The Grosvenor Gallery as Palace of Art: An Exhibition Model', in *The Grosvenor Gallery: A Palace of Art in Victorian England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), pp.10 and 30.
[48] *Op.cit*., pp.6-9.

> English and foreign might become known to one another, and make common cause in the advancement of this charming and newly-resuscitated art.'[49]

Despite the expansive commendation of the gallery owner's altruistic motives, the origins of such an initiative were more readily understood in terms of Lindsay's pressing need for remunerative gain. By 1888, the Lindsays had separated, costing Sir Coutts Lindsay the support of his wife's extended social circle and her access to the Rothschild fortune. At the same time, his long-serving gallery managers, J. Comyns Carr (1849-1916) and Charles Hallé (1819-1895) had left in a dispute over the need to restructure the Grosvenor Gallery and make it more financially viable. The future of this institution was in the balance and in order to move forward Sir Coutts Lindsay recruited Charles Deschamps (1848-1908) as the gallery manager and A. F. Le Patourel (dates unknown) as the secretary. Deschamps had managed Paul Durand-Ruel's London gallery for over ten years where his dedication to the promotion of the most innovative styles of French and British art was widely acknowledged by both critics and artists including a young George Clausen.[50] Le Patourel, meanwhile had been secretary to the Society of British Artists during Whistler's presidency.[51] Consequently, both men were qualified to assist Sir Coutts Lindsay in the orchestration of a modern pastel exhibition which was to be hosted in October and November of 1888, prior to the start of the official winter season. The astute insertion of this event into the existing bi-annual programme represented a means of accruing potential revenue from entrance fees, catalogue sales and commissions on sold works. Both the catalogue and the critical reception of the first pastel exhibition testify to the beneficial

[49] 'In Praise of Pastels', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (25 Oct 1888), p.11.
[50] Clausen, 1933, p.18; Robins, 2015, pp.179-80.
[51] RBA catalogues, 1886-9, book 8, V&A archive, Blythe House, London, ref. AAD/1997/8/42.

effect of this unusual timing on the amount and quality of works artists could afford to send. Indeed, unlike the American or French pastel exhibitions that featured work by a relatively small group of contemporary artists, it is clear from appendix A that the first British pastel exhibition attracted 125 participants who submitted 298 pieces.[52]

The relatively large number of exhibits occupied all five of the available rooms in the Grosvenor Gallery. From the floor plans [fig.62] and the exhibition catalogue produced to accompany the show, it is possible to envision what the hang was like and how this affected the impression of the show as a whole. The largest of the rooms was the west gallery, situated to the rear of the property with windows along the south and west aspect. This exhibition space held almost a third of the works, arranged over two of the walls. The east gallery was just over half the size of the west gallery but contained almost as many pieces suggesting that it was a denser hang. The rest of the 119 works were displayed in an anteroom off the east gallery and two smaller spaces labelled on the plan as the sculpture gallery and the watercolour gallery.[53] It is interesting to speculate about who played a greater role in the selection and organisation of these works. Deschamps's prior experience of hosting the shows of the Society of French Artists at Durand-Ruel's gallery between 1870 and 1880 meant that he had forged strong links with other dealers representing a host of French artists including Lhermitte and Henri Fantin-Latour (1836-1904).[54] Notably, many of these artists were also serving members of the Société de Pastellistes Français and had pieces

[52] *The First Pastel Exhibition*, [exh.cat.], The Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street, 1888, held at National Art Library, London.
[53] See appendix A and floorplan. [fig.62]
[54] Lhermitte spent time in Britain whilst Fantin-Latour was most probably represented by his dealer Edwin Edwards. 'The Society of French Artists – New Bond Street', *The Art Journal*, (Feb 1876), pp.46-7; Fowle, 2008, p.120.

exhibited in the Grosvenor Gallery show.[55] In this way, it is possible to suggest that Deschamps may have encouraged the adoption of a more international display than had been attempted by either the American or the French pastel societies. Equally, the decision to omit historical examples of the art form may owe its origins to Deschamps's background as a promoter of the latest artistic styles. Certainly, one reviewer credited Deschamps with the curation of the first pastel exhibition, stating that he had, 'shown not only judgment but excellent taste, in the grouping of English and French artists; and whilst keeping in view the general effect…managed to do full justice to the claims of individual works.'[56] However, it is just as plausible that it was Sir Coutts Lindsay who was the main advocate of such a contemporary display. Indeed, an article covering a pre-exhibition publicity event reveals that he had formed a close friendship with Ballu who affectionately called Lindsay 'a nineteenth century Mecænas [sic]'.[57] This strategic alliance may have resulted in the abandonment of the historical format which received such adverse criticism during the Société's inaugural show.

The fact that all the works in the first Grosvenor Gallery show were by living artists allowed the organisers to showcase the full breadth and variety of the contemporary pastel movement. For example, established names such as Holman Hunt and Whistler had pieces interspersed with works by the younger generation including four by

[55] 1888 pastel show – Lhermitte, cat.nos. 6 and 50; Fantin-Latour, cat.nos. 67, 70, 138 and 140. See Appendix A.
[56] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *The Illustrated London News*, (27 Oct 1888), p.8.
[57] Gaius Cilnius Maecenas (68 BC – 8 BC) was a political advisor to Caesar Augustus, the first Emperor of Rome and known to be a generous and enlightened patron of the arts. 'In Praise of Pastels', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (25 Oct 1888), p.11.

Clausen, three by Armstrong and seven by Stott.[58] It is also evident that there was no clear stylistic or technical parity between the artists on display. So, for example, Whistler's five Venice pastels were not shown with the work of his followers; a policy which Whistler himself had advocated at the SBA. Rather Whistler's work was juxtaposed with pieces by the Newlyn School artist Walter Langley (1852-1922) and the Manchester School painter Joshua Anderson Hague (1850-1916). Meanwhile, Armstrong and her fellow SBA allies, G. P. Jacomb-Hood (1857-1929) and Philip Wilson Steer (1860-1942), had their work dispersed across all the rooms. Similarly, there was little attempt to keep together the work of any one artist. The only exceptions to this apparently disparate arrangement seem to have been motivated by the consistency of the pieces either in terms of their subject matter or tonal harmony. Thus, for example, W. E. F. Britten's (1848-1916) eleven figurative works were represented as a cohesive group.[59] Stott, too had five out of seven submissions closely hung in the east gallery. Apart from, *White Rhododendrons*, 1886, his two nocturnes, one seascape and one Alps pastel shared a pared down palette of cool blue and purple tones [figs.23 and 63].[60] Collectively, the eclectic nature of the display was seen by some as a cleverly conceived attempt to broaden the popular and commercial appeal of this art form by literally including something that would suit all tastes. This view is supported by a reporter who commented that the exhibition, 'could not but be of great interest to all art lovers…[and] is likely to prove really serviceable in making a most charming branch of art more widely appreciated among us than it has hitherto been.'[61] Certainly,

[58] See Appendices A and D.
[59] Cat.nos.102-112, east gallery, 1888. See Appendix A.
[60] *Summer Moonlight*, cat.no.143; *A Starry Night*, cat.no.144; *White Rhododendrons*, cat.no.147; *A Sandhill*, cat.no.149; *The Purple Mountain*, cat.no.157; *Pastoral*, cat.no.177 and *Near the Fireside*, cat.no.248.
[61] 'Our London Correspondence', *Glasgow Herald*, (20 Oct 1888), p.7.

the selection of such a broad range of artists demonstrated visually how the inherent flexibility of pastel could be adapted to suit a diverse range of modern art practices. The association of pastel with innovative styles and techniques was commented on by a critic from the *Pall Mall Gazette* who stated that, 'No branch of the art is unrepresented, unless it be the now unfashionable and discredited school of "history"'.[62]

Pastel, then was very much of the moment and its continued resonance with a younger demographic depended on their access to the widest possible range of contemporary styles. With that in mind, the British works were supplemented by 34 contributions from members of the Société de Pastellistes Français including two by Lhermitte and five by Jacques-Emile Blanche.[63] The inclusion of these pastels encouraged the audience to look at French and British pastel techniques in a comparative way in order to identify the relative merits of each national complement. This was a risky strategy, however, as the pastel movement in Britain was still in its infancy and some believed that this made British artists appear weak by comparison with their Continental counterparts. For example, one reviewer conceded that,

> 'we must, perforce, give precedence to our French friends. They began the practice of the revived art earlier than our own countrymen; they have followed it with greater eagerness; and several of them have achieved results which the English painters have not yet rivalled.'[64]

Further, it could be argued that by hanging over half of the French pastels that were submitted in the largest room in the Grosvenor Gallery, the organisers were privileging

[62] 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (20 Oct 1888), p.3.
[63] See Appendix A.
[64] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Times*, (20 Oct 1888), p.7.

French techniques and reinforcing the impression that the British works were somehow inferior. This was confirmed by a reviewer from *The Graphic* who described how, 'one of the first works we meet with, representing the interior of "A Village Church during the Ceremony of the First Communion" by M. Léon Lhermitte, is remarkable for its luminous tone and delicate modulation of colour, not less than for the truthful characterisation and natural grouping of the figures.'[65] The prioritisation of French artists in the gallery was similarly reflected in the structuring of several reviews that firstly acknowledged the originality of this enterprise and then turned to the work of the Société before finally discussing the work of British pastellists almost as an afterthought.[66] Yet, if the aim of the exhibition were to encourage the use of pastel in Britain it seems unlikely that Lindsay and Deschamps would have deliberately set out to undermine British styles and techniques. Rather, it should be noted that foreign pastels accounted for just 11% of the overall hang and the visual impact of the diminishing number of French pieces as the viewer moved through the adjoining rooms allowed a new generation of British pastel artists to come to the fore.[67] Indeed, one reviewer acknowledged in an account tinged with nationalistic fervour that whilst, 'good – and naturally predominant – as are the French Pastellists at the present exhibition, there are Pastels by some of the younger British artists which are equal, if not superior, to those of their better known rivals.'[68]

[65] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *The Graphic*, (27 Oct 1888), p.443.
[66] 'The Grosvenor Exhibition of Pastel Pictures' *The Athenaeum*, (27 Oct 1888), no 3183, p.560; 'Art Chronicle', *The Portfolio*, (1888), **19**, p.240.
[67] See appendix A.
[68] 'Our London Correspondence', *Glasgow Herald*, (20 Oct 1888), p.7.

By acknowledging the increasing interest in materiality mentioned in chapter two, reviewers favoured those artists whom they felt had an affinity with the unique qualities of the medium whilst reserving their criticism for others who had attempted to force their pastels into the condition of painting. Indeed, it was in the most positive terms that Cosmo Monkhouse estimated that in Clausen's *Child Portrait*, c.1888, (private collection) [fig.64] the artist 'uses pastel in a personal manner and gains effects in the way of pearly delicacy of skin and limpidity of light blue eyes [and] seems to possess completely the sense of his material.'[69] By contrast, Armstrong attracted criticism for her painterly use of pastel with one reviewer from *The Illustrated London News* stating that with all of her submissions, 'Miss Armstrong pushes pastel-work to such an extreme that we are inclined to ask why they were not painted in oils, which would have given her far more freedom, and permitted greater finish?'[70] Stott was also targeted for his seemingly simplistic composition and technique with one critic claiming that all his works 'partake of the faults customary to his eccentricities.'[71] Such a comment references his distinctive use of the chromatic possibilities of pastel to obscure its linear element which made his work appear to be illegible. Indeed, the variety of pastel techniques and the avant-garde nature of many of the exhibits was alluded to in the closing remarks of a reviewer who stated that, 'There are some very startling drawings, some ugly, and some downright ridiculous, before which the public stand and laugh, but the feeling on the whole is that this first pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor is most successful and interesting.'[72]

[69] Monkhouse, C., 'The First Pastel Exhibition,' *The Academy* (3 Nov 1888), no.861, p.294.
[70] 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' *The Illustrated London News*, (27 Oct 1888), p.504.
[71] 'London Correspondence', *The Birmingham Daily Post*, (22 Oct 1888), p.5.
[72] 'Notes on Current Events,' *The British Architect*, (30 Nov 1888), p.381.

The second pastel exhibition 1889

The critical success of the first pastel exhibition and the sustained efforts of other independent exhibiting societies to publicise the medium in the spring season of 1889 (see: The continuing promotion of pastel section) made it almost inevitable that Sir Coutts Lindsay would stage another large-scale pastel show in the autumn of the same year. This show was even bigger with 453 works listed in the catalogue by 217 artists, the majority of whom were limited to only three works. There were 66 returning contributors whilst 151 were new to the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows.[73] These figures illustrate several interesting developments that had occurred between 1888 and 1889. So, for example, the 57% increase in the number of exhibitors suggests that the first pastel exhibition had accomplished the desired effect of stimulating artists to experiment with this medium as part of their creative practice, many for the first time. However, the fact that only just over half of the artists who had participated in the first show chose to send to its second manifestation reveals that keeping people consistently engaged with this dynamic movement was more challenging than simply popularising it. Indeed, many of the initial reviews make mention of what they perceived to be a decline in the quality of the exhibits as their quantity increased. For example, a reporter for *Fun* magazine estimated that the second exhibition 'does not compare favourably with the first. We find so much that is below commonplace that it would have been better to have had only one room instead of five'.[74] At the same time, another reviewer stated that he believed the show to be 'largely the contribution of amateurs, or else artists whose names have not made very much noise for themselves

[73] *The Second Pastel Exhibition*, [exh.cat.], The Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street, 1889 held at National Art Library, London.
[74] 'Grosvenor Gallery', *Fun*, (23 Oct 1889), p.181.

yet.'[75] Certainly, Sir Coutts Lindsay had been known to display his own work as well as that by friends from within his social circle who were neither trained nor working as professional artists.[76] This may have given the impression that pastel was a polite pastime rather than a serious art form but equally the broad appeal of pastel made it more attractive to modern artists who were seeking to blur traditional distinctions of high and low art and engage with experimentation.

Critics of the pastel movement were quick to counter this assertion by accusing those who were recognised artists but who were new to the Grosvenor Gallery shows of being faddish and opportunistic. As one critic noted with disdain, 'it would seem too often that the artists thought it policy to keep in touch with the new movement, and either made for the purpose of this pavilion exhibition a quick sketch or replica of an existing painting and took no further trouble in the matter.'[77] In particular, they discerned a lack of seriousness on the part of contributors to produce what they considered to be a finished work in pastel. A reviewer for *The Morning Post* opined that 'painters seem chary of using pastel for their loftiest artistic efforts, for the exposition of some idea or story, carefully wrought out with the fullest details. Thus, we have now to do chiefly with studies of figures, pretty effects of landscape and a great number of very good portraits.'[78] These comments typically enunciate contemporary prejudice against the perceived development of sketchy and more

[75] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Saturday Review*, (19 Oct 1889), p.429.
[76] Sir Coutts and Lady Lindsay alongside other members of the gentry displayed work in the Grosvenor Gallery Winter Exhibitions 1880 and 1881 [exh.cats.]; Newall, C., 1995, p.23; Lindsay was also criticised for prominently displaying his, *The Visions of Endymion*, in the 1890 summer painting exhibition. See *Bristol Mercury* (2 May 1890) and *Manchester Courier* (5 May 1890).
[77] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (15 Oct 1889), p.8.
[78] 'Grosvenor Gallery', *The Morning Post*, (15 Oct 1889), p.5.

impressionistic styles of pastel art. The apparent simplicity of a work tended to be equated with amateurism or deliberate apathy on the part of the artist in his or her use of the medium. However, it is difficult to distinguish from the reviews and catalogues alone which pieces were unapologetically preparatory in nature and which were executed in a more unfinished style. This is exacerbated by the fact that reviewers often employed a policy of indifference towards works that they felt did not warrant their attention. Similarly, the titling of a work as a sketch or study did not necessarily indicate that these were intended as private notes or simple exercises.[79] In addition, the relatively tentative appearance of many of the works reinforced the idea that this was still an emergent artistic practice in Britain. This was perhaps best illustrated in the more measured remarks of some reporters who equated the development of new techniques with youthful ambition. Indeed, one critic recognised that it was the 'younger painters who are disposed to give a trial to the unfamiliar medium. One or two of these are already popular men. Others are men whose names it is at least the business of the artistic person to be well acquainted. Others are comparative beginners – some perhaps even students.'[80] This astute observation about the age and experience of the participants in the 1889 show suggests that both the artists and the pastel movement were still undergoing a process of development. Thus, another critic concluded his review with the optimistic note that 'at present the art displayed, while full of indications of a rich and ample harvest to come, seems to be but in the budding season.'[81]

[79] There are 5 works titled as sketches and 21 with 'study' in the title. See appendix B.
[80] 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Standard*, (15 Oct 1889), p.3.
[81] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery,' *Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1889), p.8.

The feeling that British pastel art was still overwhelmingly naïve was compounded by the fact that members of the Société de Pastellistes Français were not as well represented as they had been in the first show. Indeed, only Anna Bilińska (1857-1893), Blanche, Emile Lévy (1826-1890) and Alexandre Nozal (1852-1929) returned and between them their pieces accounted for just 5.5% of the overall hang. As the use of pastel was more established in France, this omission was believed to reduce the overall artistic quality of the show and limit the opportunities for British artists to extend their technical repertoire. One critic conceded that 'whatever may be our view of the respective merits of the realists and the impressionists…we must at all events give them [French pastellists] credit for having devoted considerable care, and probably much time, to the technical part of their work.'[82] Praise for the French artists' exacting and methodical approach to the medium together with an admission of national inferiority in this art form were common defensive strategies adopted by British critics to mitigate the feeling that this show was not as good as the first. In the dialogue with British audiences about the evolving status of the medium, one reporter described how in his opinion 'the Englishmen are left to answer alone for an art which is distinctly an importation.'[83] Such evocative language reveals that this exhibition was about much more than simply promoting a new artistic trend. It also highlighted the commonly held belief that contemporary British artists were unwilling or unable to challenge the French domination of the modern art scene. Yet, arguably by privileging the work of British or British-based contributors, Sir Coutts Lindsay gave them the opportunity to counter such claims and prove that their technical virtuosity and breadth of stylistic invention were just as accomplished as French artists. This is

[82] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Leeds Mercury*, (18 Oct 1889), p.8.
[83] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Art Journal*, (Dec 1889), p.362.

supported by comments made by some of the more patriotically-minded critics such as a reporter for *The Times* who remarked that, 'though some of the strong French and English names which were in last year's catalogue are now absent, their places have been taken by others, and many of the exhibitors have clearly made a step forward since last year.'[84] Whilst another who justified the less evident success of the 1889 exhibition by likening the English artists to soldiers who had been abandoned on a battlefield stated that in his opinion it was 'the simple duty of those who publicly express their opinions to inspire the artists who have dared so much this year to dare yet more in the future.'[85] There is a clear recognition here of the role played by constructive criticism in stimulating further innovation. To this end, the exhibition organisers had sought to prioritise those highly original works which had moved beyond imitative homage.

Of particular relevance in this respect, were the six pieces exhibited by Stott which included four works from his most recent Alps series (1888) already discussed in chapter two. All of his works were arranged in quick succession in the west gallery thus affording him a more advantageous position than the previous year. The visual impact of hanging *Morning Alps*, *Jungfrau*, *The Eiger* [fig.65] and *The White Mountain* together in one space meant that these works commanded the focus of many reviewers with one conceding that they were 'among the most noticeable of the year.'[86] Of course, the originality of Stott's style and his handling of pastel were not always well-received. Indeed, one critic opined that with his only example of pastel

[84] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Times*, (15 Oct 1889), p.7.
[85] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1889), p.8.
[86] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (15 Oct 1889), p.8.

portraiture, 'Mr W. Stott, "of Oldham," does not justify his claim to belong to an artistic town by his coarse and vulgar sketch Madame Nevada as Lakmé (94), one of the things which have [sic] no business in such a gallery as this.'[87] Despite this negative assessment, the majority of reviews for Stott's Alps series were more favourable especially when contrasted with the mixed reception of his seascape and nocturnes at the 1888 show. Evidently, direct comparison of several works which dealt with similar subject matter enabled critics to appreciate how his mastery of the unique qualities of the medium had informed the development of his personal style. Indeed, it was noted that,

> 'Amongst the good work, the wonderful set of Alpine pictures by Mr William Stott, of Oldham, must certainly take the first place. Of most charming schemes of refined colour and singular beauty of decorative effect in the arrangement of masses…It would be difficult to choose between them, but in the "Eiger," which in the hands of all but a few men would have been bizarre and theatrical, the refinement is astonishing.'[88]

Stott's technical prowess in his *Eiger* [fig.65] is showcased by carefully worked up areas of similar shades of pastel, often differentiated by shifts in texture which are used to create complex colour harmonies. In this instance, the critic's emphasis on colour, effect and finish further references the widely-held contemporary belief that the artist's creative vision must be attuned to his medium of choice in order to elevate works from mere reproduction into the realm of high art.

Not all pastellists received such unstinting praise, regardless of their status as pioneers of modern styles and techniques outside the parameters of the pastel movement.

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[87] *The Athenaeum*, (19 Oct 1889), p.528; *Madame Nevada as Lakmé* is lost. There is no mention of it in Stott's notebook and it was not exhibited at his 1896 retrospective nor at his 1901 memorial exhibition.
[88] 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (15 Oct 1889), p.2.

Clausen's public profile had been augmented as a result of the paintings which he had exhibited between 1888 and 1889 at the New English Art Club, the Grosvenor Gallery summer exhibition and the British section of the Paris International Exhibition where he was awarded a second-class medal.[89] In addition, Clausen was elected as an associate of the Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colours despite the fact that he had refused to submit examples of his work as part of the normal election process.[90] Whilst Clausen's considerable achievement was recognised, his preoccupation with painting prevented him from furthering his commitment to pastel. The critic from the *Pall Mall Gazette* was unconvinced by Clausen's single submission to the second pastel show, his full-length figurative piece entitled *Little Rose*, 1889 [fig.53]. Indeed, he stated that, 'Clausen appears hardly at home as yet in what we may surmise to be for him a new material. His "Little Rose," an unpretentious study of a fair-haired rustic, has all his known simplicity and truth of aspect, but the background and sky are heavy and wanting in aerial perspective.'[91] Clearly, the reporter was unaware that Clausen had been using pastel as part of his creative practice for almost a decade prior to this show. In addition, his assessment of Clausen's composition reveals that he disapproved more of the high horizon and lack of spatial depth than of Clausen's handling of the subject. Indeed, he does not mention how the specific qualities of pastel had enabled Clausen to employ a vivid palette and pure tones in a way that was strikingly innovative within his oeuvre. His bias is made more obvious by comparing his review with the opinion of another critic from *The Art Journal* who felt that, 'Mr Clausen, whose "Little Rose"

[89] 'The New English Art Club', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (16 April 1889), p.3; 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *St James Gazette*, (1 May 1889), p.6; 'The Paris Exhibition', *The Morning Post*, (7 June 1889), p.2.
[90] 'Art Notes', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (20 March 1889), p.1.
[91] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery: Second Notice', *The Manchester Guardian*, (2 Nov 1889), p.6.

is incomparably the best thing in the collection, makes the purity and directness of the colour, and its high capacity for rendering the relations of light, add something to the record he has made of outdoor illumination.'[92] The stark contrast between these two reports reveals the ambivalence of critics who seemed on the one hand to urge artists to work with the specificity of the material whilst on the other hand reverting to traditional narrative readings of the work.

It is difficult to assess how public opinion was affected by these qualitative comments in the press as, over the course of my research, I have been unable to locate any visitor figures, sales records or personal correspondence pertaining to the second show. This may explain why the extant exhibition histories of the Grosvenor Gallery fail to do more than simply acknowledge that the pastel shows were held in this space.[93] Thus, as part of my efforts to analyse the extent to which the 1889 show succeeded in promoting pastel as a relevant means to develop innovative art practices in Britain, it is essential to consider how proactively the participating artists were involved in the organisation of this event. This factor was rarely emphasised in the accompanying catalogue or critical reviews but from the outset artists had been at the heart of the selection and hanging process. Indeed, in a circular sent out after the 1888 pastel exhibition, it is evident that a small council of artists was recruited for this specific purpose. Amongst their number were Clausen, William Llewellyn (1858-1941), Arthur Hacker (1858-1919), Alfred Hartley (1855-1933), Solomon J. Solomon (1860-1927), James Aumonier (1832-1911) and Hubert Vos (1855-1935).[94] These men did

[92] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Art Journal*, (Dec 1889), p.362.
[93] Newall, 1995, p.26; no mention in Casteras, and Denney, 1996.
[94] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (15 Oct 1889), p.8.

not share a common style and all used pastel in quite different ways but they were able to set aside their differences and work together on behalf of the pastel movement. This act of support may also have been driven by a self-serving desire to elevate their status as Grosvenor Gallery exhibitors. It is noteworthy that all seven of these artists had been represented by works both at the Grosvenor Gallery summer painting exhibition and the pastel show of 1888.[95] Their artistic standing and recognised expertise in each medium added relevancy to the emerging infrastructure of the pastel shows. This is evidenced by the favourable arrangement, if not selection, of the works in 1889 which mirrored similar developments in the exhibition of contemporary art. As one reporter noted, 'the effect of the galleries is distinctly pleasing. Each picture keeps its place with a modesty that is unusual in British picture exhibitions'.[96] This reveals that great care had been taken to give each piece the requisite space and light to show off the unique properties of pastel to advantageous effect.

The visual aesthetic of the show was seen by some observers as a distinct disadvantage because it inadvertently reinforced the impression of pastel as decorative and insubstantial. Indeed, Stanhope Forbes was quick to dismiss what he saw as the new council's lack of expertise, which had resulted in a 'queer sort of display'.[97] He was, however, forced to set aside his objections to the overall hang when he openly acknowledged, in a letter to his wife, the vital importance of the placement of works for their saleability. Of the two pastels submitted by Elizabeth Forbes (née Armstrong) he opined that one was, 'in a splendid place on one of the gold panels in the big room.

[95] *Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition, 1888.* See Appendix A.
[96] *Op.cit.*
[97] Letter Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Forbes, c.1888, Stanhope Forbes Archive, Tate Britain, London, ref. no. 9015.2.2.38.

It is sure to go.'[98] Thus, the work of the group appointed by Sir Coutts Lindsay to secure the future of the pastel movement, met with qualified success. Equally, it performed an essential role in effecting the transition from an institutional to an artist-led initiative. This was confirmed by a notice published in the *Pall Mall Gazette* just one week after the opening of the 1889 show. It informed the public that the present hanging committee would now form the official council of the newly established Society of British Pastellists over the course of the following year. [99]

The Society of British Pastellists 1890

In recognition of the significance of the Grosvenor Gallery for the display and promotion of pastels, the first exhibition of this newly established society was held there on the 18th October 1890. Unsurprisingly, Sir Coutts Lindsay was chosen as the first President but as the first page of the catalogue for the show [fig.66] makes clear the administrative council and 43 founder members reflected the diversity of the British art scene. Clausen continued to serve on the council as he had during the 1889 exhibition whilst both Stott and Armstrong joined as members. This occasion was also the first time that Guthrie exhibited in the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibitions. Caw states that Guthrie only became a member at this time because he had been formally asked to join.[100] It is likely that Clausen made this invitation as he had also been responsible for encouraging Lindsay to invite the Glasgow School of artists to submit work to the annual summer exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery.[101] Equally, Guthrie,

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[98] *Ibid.*; This is almost certainly *Hide and Seek* (I), [fig.37], exhibited in the west gallery, cat.no. 127. Her other work was entitled *Poor Ned*, and it was exhibited in the east gallery, cat.no. 160 (see appendix A).
[99] '"The New" Society of British Pastellists,' *Pall Mall Gazette*, (23 Oct 1889), p.5.
[100] Caw, 1932, p.52.
[101] The Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition. 1890 [exh.cat.] reveals nineteen Scottish artists exhibited in this show, twelve of whom were included in Martin, D., *The Glasgow School of Painting*,

keen to capitalise on his growing reputation as an artist may have recognised the personal benefits to be accrued from joining a professional pastel society. Crucially, Guthrie's involvement at this stage demonstrates that the foundation of the Society of British Pastellists represented a new phase in the development of the pastel exhibition. The deliberate shift towards self-determination meant that for the first time no gallery manager was cited in the exhibition catalogue and the conduct of the show was now entirely contingent upon the status of the artist members.[102]

The press acknowledged that such an institution would, 'encourage improvement, a feature really needed before English Pastel painting can aspire to a front rank.'[103] However, other reports were critical of the way the Society had been organised stating that 43 founder members was excessive and failed to give a clear idea about a distinctly British style of pastel art. At the same time, ten members did not even contribute to the inaugural show including Academician William Quiller Orchardson (1832-1910) and the honorary member G. F. Watts (1817-1904).[104] This hiatus seemed to indicate not only an indifference to the success of the present exhibition but also a lack of commitment to the Society itself. By contrast, the core membership adopted a proactive stance towards the reduction of amateur contributions by cutting the overall number of featured works by twenty percent, to a figure of 373. The remaining submissions represented some of the most pioneering modern art movements in

(London: George Bell & Sons, 1897) list of affiliated artists. See also McConkey, K., 'The Glasgow Boys in the 1890s' in *Pioneering Painters*, [exh.cat.], (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2010), p.103.
[102] *The First Exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists*, [exh.cat.], The Grosvenor Gallery, 1890, held at the National Art Library, London, see appendix C.
[103] 'The Grosvenor Gallery: First Notice', *The Musical World*, (8 Nov 1890), p.895.
[104] G. F. Watts, W. Q. Orchardson, A. Hartley, G. P. Jacomb-Hood, W. Llewellyn, W. E. F. Britten, C. Montalba, E. Nicolet, T. Roussell and E. Stott are listed as members but did not contribute any works.

Britain. This contingent was recognised by a reporter from *The Saturday Review* who confirmed that the show was, 'largely supported by the Glasgow school…and to a less extent by the Cornish schools. The Impressionists and the Incoherents are neither wholly absent nor too prominent; they add a discreet note of gaiety to the affair.'[105] His summary itemises the Glasgow School, which had gained international recognition at the NEAC in 1889 and the Grosvenor Gallery summer exhibition in 1890. Catalogue entries document the names of four Glasgow Boys; Guthrie, Christie, Melville and Dow.[106] The colony of artists at Newlyn was represented by Armstrong and H. S. Tuke.[107] In addition, four of the so-called 'London Impressionists' who had exhibited at the Goupil Gallery in September 1889 contributed pieces including Steer, Frederick Brown (1851-1941), George Thomson (1860-1939) and Paul F. Maitland (1863-1909).[108] A number of independent artists who were also enjoying considerable contemporary notoriety chose to participate in the show. For example, Clausen and Stott sent eight and six works respectively.

Despite these marked improvements, some critics were unforgiving in their reviews with one stating, 'Of the three hundred and seventy three examples, three hundred and fifty might fairly have been excluded from the public gaze for they express nothing fresh and merely tell the old story of ingenuously attempted realism in the most disagreeable terms.'[109] However, negative criticism about the content and overall

[105] 'The Society of British Pastellists', *The Saturday Review*, (1 Nov 1890), p.503.
[106] *The Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition* 1890 [exh.cat.]; Martin, D., *The Glasgow School of Painters*, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1897), pp.ix-x.
[107] Meynell, A., 'Newlyn', *The Art Journal*, (April 1889), pp.97-102.
[108] Vivian, H., 'Topical Interview: IV – Mr Walter Sickert on Impressionist Art', *Sun*, (8 September 1889); 'The London Impressionists', *The Saturday Review*, (21 Dec 1889), p.708; Bernhard Sickert, Sidney Starr, Theodore Roussel and Francis Bate had all contributed pastels to the previous two exhibitions.
[109] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Scots Observer*, (1 Nov 1890), p.608.

aspect of the exhibition was in the minority and in this case the writer's disapproval seems to stem from a more general disregard for pastels that appeared too finished. Indeed, for the most part it was recognised that by having such a strong showing of artists whose reputations were in the ascendency, the organisers were not only demonstrating the strength of contemporary British art but were also ensuring that pastel was seen as a relevant art form within the modern context. Certainly, one critic acknowledged that on 'careful examination of the galleries; there are fine works – works in every respect worthy of exhibition, or even more, of being preserved for the admiration of later generations'.[110]

Furthermore, the cosmopolitan nature of the show was assisted by the reintroduction of a number of international pastel artists. Thus, the French-based pastellists Blanche and Bilińska who had exhibited in the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows from the outset were joined by their countryman, Raffaëlli as well as Belgian artists, Fernand Khnopff (1858-1921) and Guillaume Van Strydonck (1861-1937), Dutch-Indonesian artist Jan Toorop (1858-1928) and the Danish artist, P. S. Krøyer (1851-1909). It seems likely that some of these artists were invited to contribute by founding members of the Society of British Pastellists who had forged connections on the Continent. For example, Stott may have become familiar with Khnopff, Van Strydonck and Toorop as all of them had exhibited at the Belgian avant-garde collective of Les XX.[111] Equally, Blanche had established friendships with Whistler and the circle of artists that

[110] 'The Grosvenor Gallery: First Notice', *The Musical World* (8 Nov 1890), **70**;45, p.895.
[111] Stott exhibited alongside Khnopff and van Strydonck in 1884 and Toorop and van Strydonck in 1889. Philip Wilson Steer was another British artist to be invited to Les XX in 1888. In this show, he exhibited paintings whilst Stott sent three pastels. See Delevoy, R., ed., *Les XX, Bruxelles: catalogue des dix expositions annuelles*, (Brussels: Centre international pour l'étude du XIXe siècle, 1981).

surrounded him including Sickert, Stott, Armstrong, Starr and Jacomb-Hood.[112] Indeed, he had exhibited pastels alongside all these artists over the course of the three dedicated shows.[113] It is also noteworthy that the foreign contributors to this show were well-known as pioneering contemporary artists. Blanche and Bilińska were both fashionable society portraitists, Raffaëlli and Van Strydonck used a mixture of naturalist and impressionist aspects in their work whilst Khnopff and Toorop were both early practitioners of the Symbolist style. Their pieces added considerably to the strength and diversity of the show. Certainly, a reporter for *The Art Journal* recognised that 'foreign aid and foreign example are again forthcoming to sustain the as yet not very certain steps of our own artists in a branch of art still comparatively unfamiliar.'[114] Despite such a commendation, this contingent only accounted for 6.4% of the overall hang with the pieces sparsely distributed across the east and west galleries. Even so, this relatively small number of works represented a significant reduction from the 11% of European pastels present in the first show. As a result, the exhibition had international importance without compromising the British participants and their nationally specific interpretations of modern pastel art.

Yet, the emphasis on the professionalization of pastel art within Britain was not enough to allay the criticisms that had plagued the first two shows. Again, reviewers attacked artists who had failed to engage with the special qualities of the medium. This they surmised came from a lack of technical aptitude or from a deliberate attempt to appear

[112] Blanche, J-E., trans. W. Clement, *Portraits of a Lifetime*, (London: J.M. Dent, 1937), pp.45-57.
[113] First Pastel Exhibition, 1888, cat.nos. 24, 52, 96, 153, 158; Second Pastel Exhibition, 1889, cat.nos. 105, 123; Society of British Pastellists, 1890, cat.nos. 2, 18, 44, 108, 163, 214.
[114] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *The Art Journal*, (Dec 1890), p.380.

radical in style and subject. Typical of such opinions was the article published in the weekly cultural journal, *The Musical World*, which stated that,

> 'First and foremost in the list of faults is this, that the majority of workers appreciate but little, or not at all, the fact that there are certain subjects which lend themselves particularly well to the medium…Others there, [sic] are who finding the material easily workable, are charmed with the novelty, and immediately set about forming for themselves a peculiar technique with results in some cases almost comic.'[115]

The use of descriptors like easy, novel and comic reinforce the impression that this was a frivolous movement and that pastel could never be considered as a serious art form. Such invective was also evident in the remark that 'most of the works have no more claim to the dignified title of art than the society paragraph has to be seriously esteemed as literature.[116] Those commentators who had directed their criticism towards what they regarded as the failings of modern art also found much to censure at the May 1890 Summer show. Thus, a critic from *The Athenaeum* contended that, 'this collection of nearly 400 paintings…is in every respect below the standard of its forerunners. Not one of the works is first rate, few of them are excellent, and no small number are so crude and defiant of taste as well as of technical principles that we are compelled to wonder how they obtained admission into a gallery with such honourable traditions as the Grosvenor's.'[117]

The standard of exhibits was a source of irritation with many adverse comments being directed at new styles and techniques. However, *The Times* correspondent applauded what he had discerned as 'the assiduity with which pastel painting is now being

[115] 'The Grosvenor Gallery: First Notice', *The Musical World*, (8 Nov 1890), p.895.
[116] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Scots Observer*, (1 Nov 1890), p.608.
[117] 'The Grosvenor Exhibition', *The Athenaeum*, (10 May 1890), no.3263, p.610.

followed in this country.'[118] There was a widespread recognition of the marked improvement in British artists' draughtsmanship and their handling of pastel and Armstrong in particular was commended for, 'a very complete command of her medium' in her now untraced pastel, *"Open the Gates as High as the Sky, To let the King and Queen pass by"*.[119] Those works which were considered to be especially successful allowed the unique materiality of pastel to inform the technique. For example, one reviewer commented that, 'we have never seen a more brilliant thing in its way than James Guthrie's "Firelight"; the glow of the fire light could never be more effectively rendered in colour or pastel and it is pleasant to note the skill and admire the result.'[120] At the same time, another critic felt that the spontaneity of pastel was responsible for Clausen's decision to forego his typically measured form of naturalism. He stated, 'for once Clausen has forgotten Bastien-Lepage and all his works, and has looked to Nature directly and with his own eyes. And he has registered the result in a series of impressions which are not the least successful works in the gallery.'[121] However, this muted praise for Clausen's pastels was not shared by Frederick Wedmore, who in a comparative criticism, stated that 'originality of vision is represented by, among others, Mr William Stott, of Oldham; and the very reverse of originality of vision – along, however, with some truth of sentiment and singular deftness of hand – is displayed as usual, in the work of Mr George Clausen.'[122] This was not so much an attack on Clausen's ability to be progressive within his own practice but rather his ability to do something new within contemporary British art as

[118] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Times*, (18 Oct 1890), p.12.
[119] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Illustrated London News*, (25 Oct 1890), p.526.
[120] 'Picture Notes', *The British Architect*, (24 Oct 1890), p.299.
[121] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Scots Observer*, (1 Nov 1890), p.609.
[122] Wedmore, F., 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Academy*, (25 Oct 1890), p.370.

a whole. Indeed, Wedmore went on to argue that Stott's 'exquisite suggestions' allowed him to move beyond the 'coldly realistic' aspects of Clausen's Naturalism. This he believed edged Stott's works into the realms of High Art. For, in his opinion, Stott had created works that were, 'essentially poetic. They are not a chart for the simple; a treatise for the ignorant – they are just a word to the wise.'[123] In this statement, Wedmore was dispelling any notion that pastel was an easy or amateurish art form and instead confirmed that in the right hands it could spur on not only stylistic innovation but the reinvention of the medium itself.

The continuing promotion of pastel: the role of the NEAC, provincial exhibiting societies and solo shows

The three dedicated pastel shows at the Grosvenor Gallery had a wide-ranging impact not only on the artists involved and the techniques they employed but also on the British exhibiting community as a whole. This annual promotion of pastel encouraged other art institutions and societies to follow suit and pastels began to be incorporated into exhibitions on an unprecedented scale. The closure of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890 meant that the continuing exhibition of pastels became contingent upon the initiatives of artists and art dealers to exploit the availability of alternative gallery space. One of the first metropolitan organisations to adopt this more inclusive policy was the New English Art Club. Founded in January 1886, the NEAC was instrumental in redefining the boundaries of what constituted art and how it should be displayed. Motivated in part by a shared admiration for Continental techniques and a distrust of the partisan arrangement at the RA, the Club was well-placed to support modern artists

[123] *Ibid.*

who were responding to the current trend for pastel.[124] Its open and democratic exhibition policy encouraged Walter Sickert to submit in 1888, Degas's pastel, *Danseuse Verte*, 1879 [fig.67] along with his own paintings.[125] According to Jean Sutherland Boggs 'this is Degas's most flamboyant interpretation of movement on the stage, as well as his most challenging attempt at projecting the viewer into the midst of a performance.'[126] By accepting such unconventional pieces the Club came to be known, in the words of one reviewer, as the place to go 'for examples of the kind of work most in favour at the present moment…for broad effects boldly given, for impressions rapidly seized and rendered with seemingly equal rapidity, for energetic attempts to grapple with the most difficult problems of light and shade, of form and colour; for everything in fact.'[127] It is surely significant then, that the NEAC found favour with sixteen contributors to the inaugural pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888.[128] So for example, Clausen and Armstrong were members of both organisations as were Blanche, Starr, Bernard Sickert and Theodore Roussel (1847-1926). The growing reputations of these artists on the contemporary art scene provided a point of interest for audiences viewing the first pastel show. At the same time, it helped to popularise pastel amongst their peers in the NEAC.

The following year the club again chose to incorporate several pastels into their annual exhibition. Certainly, the diverse range of works in alternative media was a striking

[124] McConkey, K., *The new English: a history of the New English Art Club*, (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2006), p.29.
[125] According to Kate Flint this was the first time this piece had been exhibited in England. See Flint, K. *Impressionists in England: the critical reception*, (London: Routledge, 1984), p.361; Catalogue of Pictures and Sculpture by the New English Art Club, 1888, cat.no.18, p.11, Tate Britain, London Acc.no. 20067/5/2.
[126] Boggs, J. Sutherland, [et al.], *Degas*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), p.354.
[127] 'Art Exhibitions', *The Times*, (9 Apr 1888), p.4.
[128] See Appendix A; New English Art Club Past Members, Tate Britain archive, ref no. 20067/3/1-.

feature of the 1889 show.[129] As one reviewer commented, 'the exhibition is not limited to painting but includes examples of etching, dry point and pastel, which latter art seems to be coming into fashion.'[130] Five of these works were conveniently labelled as pastels in the accompanying catalogue to the exhibition including Armstrong's, *"Three Blind Mice"* 1889 [untraced], Dow's, *Moonlight on the Sea*, 1888, [fig.33] and Bernhard Sickert's, *Rest*, 1888. However, Whistler's, *Rose and Red*, 1889 [fig.68] and Guthrie's, *The Ropewalk*, 1888, [fig.43] were not listed as pastels.[131] This may have been because their respective techniques made the material appear self-evident whereas Armstrong and Dow's predilection for covering the entire paper surface made the process of identifying the medium more difficult, especially in a mixed-media show. This is supported by the fact that the majority of reviews directly referenced the works of Whistler and Guthrie as pastels. Indeed, a critic from *The Scots Observer* described *Rose and Red* as one of 'Mr Whistler's charming suggestions in pastel.'[132] At the same time, it is interesting to note that many of the critics were dismayed that Whistler was asking twenty-six guineas for his work.[133] The relatively exorbitant price was felt to be unjustified not only because of the risqué subject matter but also because of the sketchy style and means of execution. Similar issues with regard to handling were raised about Guthrie's *The Ropewalk*, 1888 [fig.43] because of its apparently unfinished appearance with one reviewer describing it as, 'rather clever than interesting.'[134] On the other hand, Armstrong's pastel attracted a more favourable

[129] Catalogue of Modern Pictures, 1889, Tate Britain, London, ref no. 20067/5/2.
[130] *The Table*, (20 April 1889). NEAC Press Cutting Book, 1889-90, Tate Archive, acc. no. 7310/3.
[131] Catalogue of Modern Pictures exhibited by the New English Art Club, [exh.cat.] (April to June 1889), [cat.nos. 6, 19, 21, 29, 65, 71 and 85], pp.10-2 and pp.15-16, Tate Britain Archive, acc.no. TGA20067/5/2.
[132] 'The New English Art Club', *The Scots Observer*, (4 May 1889), p.661.
[133] *Man of the World*, (27 April 1889). NEAC Press Cutting Book, 1889-90, Tate Archive, acc. no. 7310/3.
[134] 'The New English Art Club', *The Literary World*, (19 April 1889), *Ibid.*

response which commented also on the presentation of the work by stating that it was 'an excellent picture, and its neighbours on the wall make it stand out and prove itself admirable in many ways.'[135] Here, her use of dense hatching and vivid colouring effects helped to focus attention on her work. Indeed, her husband confirmed that it was placed 'a little bit high up but it looks very well in spite of this & is one of the very few pictures sold'.[136] It is clear then, that Armstrong's stylistic choices met with audience approval. In addition, the sense of parity evidenced by the layout of the exhibition meant that painted works and pastels received equal critical attention. This confirms that the first Grosvenor Gallery show had prompted a reappraisal of the status of pastel as an independent art form.

Furthermore, the first pastel show and the 1889 NEAC exhibition helped to promulgate the pastel movement. From an analysis of the catalogues, it is apparent that nineteen members of the NEAC contributed to the second pastel show and several of these artists had already exhibited works in pastel at the Club, including both Armstrong and Clausen.[137] This indicates that significant contemporary artists were at the forefront of the continuing development of British pastel art. Such a positive response from pioneering artists helped to deflect negative criticism surrounding the overwhelming number of exhibits that were shown at the second pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery. Thus, it is noteworthy that in the summer of 1890, the NEAC once again moved to include an even more comprehensive display of works in pastel. The show was staged in new premises in Knightsbridge which offered more space than

[135] 'Art – The New English Art Club exhibition of pictures,' *The Spectator*, (27 April 1889), *Ibid.*
[136] Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Forbes, (April 1889), Tate Britain Archive, ref. 9015.2.2.35.
[137] New English Art Club Past Members, ref no. 20067/3/1-.

previously available at the Egyptian Hall in Piccadilly. The works were arranged over a suite of rooms in galleries painted in colours designed to complement a particular medium or style. The majority of the pastels submitted to this show were displayed in an upstairs room that had been painted a delicate yellow colour. The windows had been covered with valerian linen in order to protect the works. As a direct result the warm, suffused light served to complement the luminosity of the pastels.[138] What distinguished this carefully orchestrated exhibition space was the way in which light and colour were used to enhance the viewing experience. Thus, when pastel works were located elsewhere in the galleries, critics tended to overlook them because they lacked the visual impact provided by the yellow room.[139] Such a sophisticated display policy for pastels was a consequence of the changing composition of the NEAC as the previous contingent who espoused the Naturalist style gradually gave way to members like Walter Sickert who advocated a more radical approach to colour and facture.[140] Such a development would have reinforced the impression that pastel was particularly associated with the most advanced art being produced in the UK at this time.

Indeed, the show included pastels by some of the most distinguished names from the 1888 and 1889 Grosvenor Gallery exhibitions including Clausen and Blanche. They were joined by Albert Moore who, as previously mentioned in chapter one, had initially used pastel as part of his preparatory process but as the trend for pastel gathered momentum, he was encouraged to submit his drawings as exhibition

[138] For descriptions about the new display policy see 'Latest London News', *Aberdeen Journal*, (29 March 1890), p.5; M. H. Spielman, 'The New English Art Club', *Daily Graphic*, (29 Mar 1890); and *Lloyds Weekly*, (30 March 1890), NEAC Press Cutting Book, Tate Archive, acc.no.7310/3.
[139] *Ibid.*; Catalogue of Modern Pictures, New English Art Club, Humphreys' Mansions, Knightsbridge, [exh.cat.], (March to May 1890), Tate, acc.no.20067/5/2.
[140] McConkey, 2006, pp.47-9.

works.[141] Surprisingly, Stott neglected to send any pastels despite the great critical acclaim he had received for his Alps series at the Grosvenor Gallery exhibition the previous year. Instead he chose to send a large painting called *Amethyst Cloud: Jungfrau*, 1888 [fig.69] which he had worked up from several of his smaller pastels.[142] It is possible that Stott sent a painting because the increased size meant that it commanded the majority of press attention. Yet, the painting lacked the luminosity, clarity of tone and evocative translucency of his pastels and this was noted by several critics, one of whom stated 'we doubt if Mr William Stott of Oldham's "Amethyst Cloud, Jungfrau" gains by the scale on which he has elected to paint it. His smaller studies of the high Alps at the Grosvenor, have seemed to us to the full as suggestive and as poetic.'[143] This reference to works shown at the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition of the previous year suggests that this critic assumes his readership has prior knowledge of this display. Furthermore, his preference for Stott's pastels of this subject demonstrate a growing appreciation of how the unique properties of the medium could be used to enhance the work of artists who were concerned with light, colour and a softness of touch.

Of course not all reviewers felt that the impressionistic styles and techniques that were on display at the NEAC were a positive development in British Art. As one reporter who surveyed the 1890 collection stated 'the artist in his journey through a world of

[141] Catalogue of Modern Pictures, 1890, Tate, acc.no.20067/5/2.
[142] Stott lists two pastels in his notebook called *Jungfrau Wengern Alps* (sic wengernalp station) and a later piece entitled *Amethyst Cloud* which he states was completed at Ravenglass, Stott, MS, 1896, pp.39-40; Brown believes the latter is now called *An Alpine Peak* and surmises that this was used to work up the composition for the painting. Brown, 2003, pp.100-2.
[143] 'The New English Art Club' *The Standard*, (31 March 1890), NEAC Press Cutting Book, Tate Archive, acc.no.7310/3.

suggestive pictures worthy of permanent record, will often make a passing mental note or a rough sketch – a mere memorandum – but this is merely the material for the picture not the picture itself'.[144] Such comments about the lack of technical rigour and finish were relatively rare and most critics recognised that the pastels on display demonstrated a renewed focus on materiality. Indeed, Guthrie who exhibited two pieces, one entitled *Lily* [untraced] and another which was a portrait study of the model from *The Ropewalk*, 1888 [fig.55] was praised for his charming technique and exquisite use of colour.[145] Whilst the former piece is untraced, the latter is a delicate study of tone and texture with the brightness of the model's skin appearing iridescent against the deep blue background. The high finish of the face is contrasted with the crude handling of her lace collar, thus showing the variety of line that could be achieved in pastel. One critic described this work as, 'an admirable harmony in grey and blue by Mr James Guthrie, full of artistic feeling in the treatment of the girl's head, which is in shadow but is relieved against the deep sapphire background'.[146] The critical success enjoyed by Guthrie at this exhibition clearly galvanised him into pursuing the medium further and in the summer of 1890 he produced his Helensburgh series, examples of which would be shown across the UK and in Europe. It is in this way that the NEAC exhibitions can be seen as providing a significant boost to the movement immediately prior to the formation of a dedicated pastel society.

The proliferation of such enlightened display policies encouraged the promotion of pastel across a range of other venues, including galleries in Manchester, Liverpool and

[144] *Kensington News*, (5 April 1890), *Ibid.*
[145] See Guthrie pastels appendix; ARTIST UNKNOWN, 'Art in Knightsbridge: The Last Show of the New English Art Club', *Star*, (2 April 1890), Tate, acc.no. 7310/3.
[146] 'Picture Shows', *Vanity Fair*, (12 April 1890), *Ibid.*

Glasgow which afforded artists based in the provinces, an opportunity to exhibit their pastels to local audiences. Stott, Armstrong and Guthrie all exhibited pastels at the Manchester Academy of Fine Arts and the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool during the 1880s and 90s. The proximity of Stott's Ravenglass home to Manchester meant that his association with the city pre-dated his involvement with the Grosvenor Gallery. Thus, Stott had already shown his *White Rhododendrons*, 1886 [fig.63] in Manchester in February 1888, some seven months before it was displayed at the first designated pastel exhibition. He also chose Manchester for the earliest recorded showing of his pastel *Maud in a Rocking Chair*, 1886 [fig.59] in the spring of 1887. Press coverage in *The Manchester Guardian* noted the picture's 'freshness and vitality.'[147] Such a commendation was emblematic of the gallery's desire to foreground the work of local artists rather than their use of a particular medium. This inclination towards regional specificity was not shared by the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool. This prestigious institution operated an open policy towards the submission of alternative media from artists who represented a broad spectrum of the contemporary British art scene. Stanhope Forbes provides an insight into the display culture of the 1891 annual exhibition in a letter to his wife. He tells her that, 'your pastel looks very well indeed, it's hung amongst the oils' in a space he described as the 'New English Art Club room.'[148] The following year Guthrie sent two of his Helensburgh pastels which were hung in a room dedicated to the Glasgow School.[149] In this way, the Walker Art Gallery was articulating a visual association between pastel and the latest stylistic movements in Britain. Yet, if audiences in large industrial cities were to appreciate

[147] 'Annual Exhibition of the Manchester Academy', *The Manchester Guardian*, (15 Feb 1887), p.5.
[148] Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Forbes, Tate Britain Archive, ref. 9015.2.2.57.
[149] George Henry to E. A. Hornel, Broughton House Archive, Kirkcudbright (includes sketch of the hanging arrangement at the 1892 Liverpool Exhibition).

fully the qualities that were unique to pastel then more needed to be done to promote the formal possibilities of the medium aside from geographical or stylistic distinctions.

Thus, the largest and most concerted response to the advancing pastel revival outside London came from the second city of Empire, Glasgow. This city enjoyed a vibrant cultural scene with a tight nexus of artist studios, galleries and exhibiting societies.[150] One of these organisations was the Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts which was established in 1861 by an enterprising group of citizens and artists who wanted to host an annual exhibition of works by living artists. In this way, the Institute shared the same desire to advance contemporary art as the Grosvenor Gallery and the NEAC. Thus, the GIFA was in a strong position to hold a pioneering exhibition of alternative media in the autumn of 1889. Indeed, in the catalogue preface to this show the organisers were keen to emphasise the Institute's credentials as an early supporter of new styles and forms of artistic expression. It read, 'the three Black and White exhibitions held at the Institute in 1880, 1881 and 1882 attracted much attention and were the most successful of the kind ever held in Britain' and of the newly included pastel section it claimed that it was 'the first exhibition of work in that medium that has been held in Scotland.'[151] The show included works by some of the acclaimed names from Britain's new generation of young artists including Stott and Clausen. Indeed, Clausen's *Portrait of a Child* [fig.64] may have been the same work that he

[150] Fowle, 2008, pp.137-40; Reid, J. M., *Glasgow Art Club 1867-1967*, (Glasgow: David J. Clark, Ltd, 1967), p.13; Spoor, F., 'Glasgow and the Glasgow Boys: The Politics of Group Action in the Purchase of James McNeill Whistler's, *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle'*, (MLitt Diss., University of Glasgow, 2012), p.74.

[151] *Exhibition of works in Black and White and Pastels and of works by members of the Royal Scottish Society of Painters in Water-colour,* [exh.cat.] Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, (Autumn 1889), p.16.

had sent to the 1888 Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition suggesting that he was keen to show this particular piece nationwide. The strongest showing, however, was from his locally-based allies from the NEAC including Guthrie, Lavery, Melville and E. A. Walton (1860-1922). Significantly, Guthrie chose this exhibition to showcase five of his Stirlingshire pastels including *Harvesting* and *The Ropewalk,* 1888 [figs. 10 and 43] for the first time. A reporter from *The Academy* even identified him as 'one of the most successful Glasgow practitioners of the method' and described his works as 'several effective landscape studies and a fine interior with a figure.'[152] Of course some of the local critics remained unimpressed by what they perceived as his lack of refinement. For example, one from the *Glasgow Herald* pondered about *The Ropewalk* 'is not the figure of the girl and the foreground, and the foreground itself, all too unfinished?'[153] Yet, the fact that such pioneering works in a relatively unknown medium were shown in Scotland further indicates that the pastel movement was a national phenomenon which potentially held the key to international exhibiting opportunities.

Indeed, the 1889 GIFA exhibition, where the Glasgow Boys had received such a strong showing, had resulted in an invitation from Messrs Firle and Paulus to exhibit at the Munich Glaspalast in 1890. Guthrie sent his painting *In the Orchard*, 1885-6 along with his pastels, *The Ropewalk*, 1888 [fig.43] and *Stirling, Evening*, 1888 [untraced].[154] Intimately involved from the outset of the negotiations with the Munich officials was Guthrie's agent, Alexander Reid (1854-1928). It may have been Reid

[152] 'The Glasgow Autumn Exhibition', *The Academy*, (2 Nov 1889), no. 913, p.293.
[153] 'The Institute Exhibition of Pictures', *Glasgow Herald*, (19 Oct 1889), p.8.
[154] Caw, 1932, p.233; Marie, 'Scottish Pictures – What the Germans think of them. A translation of an article by Fritz v. Ostini,' *The Dundee Courier*, (27 Sept 1890), p.6.

who directed Guthrie's choice of medium for this show as, according to Caw, he had been the driving force behind the production of Guthrie's innovative Helensburgh pastel series.[155] Frances Fowle has also argued this case because Reid had some experience with the medium himself and was acutely aware of its current popularity amongst artists such as Degas and Whistler.[156] Reid's role in the development and promotion of Guthrie's pastel oeuvre was further extended by his involvement with Guthrie's first solo show which was held at the Dowdeswells' Gallery, London in December of 1890. Following the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery and the incipient demise of the Society of British Pastellists, it is interesting to note that Guthrie chose to be represented by his works in pastel which were his most technically and stylistically advanced to date. The extent of Reid's influence is uncertain but his proactive role in the exhibition arrangements, witnessed by Scottish collector William Burrell, included 'packing up about 30 or 40 pastels etc. by Guthrie to be shown in London in a place in Bond Street'.[157] At the same time, the pair worked closely together to frame the works in light coloured enamel or silver frames in order to emphasise the specific qualities of the medium and the modernity of these pieces within the context of the pastel movement as a whole. Guthrie later described how 'we took great pains over the framing – there was not a gold frame amongst them.'[158] This very deliberate effort to dispense with traditional heavy frames and unify the pieces by colour was reminiscent of Whistler's experiments with exhibition design and reflects both Guthrie and Reid's keen appreciation of Whistlerian aesthetics.[159] This

[155] Caw, 1932, p.56.
[156] Fowle, 2010, p.57.
[157] Letter from Burrell to A. J. McNeill Reid, 14 January 1946, acc.no. 6925/II N – Burrell, NLS.
[158] Caw, 1932, p.57.
[159] See Appendix D; Merrill, 1998, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, (London: Yale University Press, 1998), p.150.

connection was not lost on reviewers of the show at Dowdeswells', one of whom commented that, 'these pastels are landscape impressions and figure studies, often of rare delicacy, but bearing too manifestly the mark of their origin. It is Mr Whistler who is their artistic parent, and it is through his eyes rather than through his own that Mr Guthrie looks upon nature.'[160]

The importance of Whistler's influence on Guthrie is clearly acknowledged but these striking images of modern life in Scotland demonstrated that Guthrie's pastel style was more than mimicry. The decision to submit his pastels untitled and without an accompanying catalogue meant that critics struggled to pinpoint his sources of inspiration.[161] The only clue was provided by a small notice stating that 'Mr Guthrie thinks it superfluous to give titles to these pastels' and 'that the material for them has chiefly been found at Helensburgh, on the Clyde.'[162] The lack of titling together with the suggestiveness of his technique and the location of the works in an anteroom off a larger exhibition of the Newlyn School artists had the effect of isolating his exhibits and diminishing their impact. Indeed, Caw later suggested that 'scarcely anyone paused to look at the pastels from Glasgow' and Burrell claimed that those people who did see the exhibition found it laughable.[163] Yet, this display of innovative works and modern subjects impressed several of the new art critics such as R. A. M. Stevenson of *The Saturday Review* and George Moore of *The Speaker*. These men, as discussed in chapter two, were developing a more formalist approach to assessing works and they particularly valued Guthrie's technical accomplishment with the peculiarities of

[160] 'Some Minor Exhibitions,' *The Manchester Guardian*, (8 Dec 1890), p.8.
[161] Caw, 1932, p.56.
[162] 'Exhibitions', *The Saturday Review*, (12 Dec 1890), p.708; See Appendix D.
[163] Caw, 1932, p.57; Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14 Jan 1946, acc.no. 6925/II N – Burrell, NLS.

the medium. For example, Moore commented that Guthrie had demonstrated 'his charming audacity in a little group of pastel sketches…it is astonishing what colour, motion and form these slight transcripts convey. No line or touch of the swift chalk but has its maximum significance, while every drawing has distinct decorative value.'[164] Such an assessment reveals that whilst Guthrie's solo show at the Dowdeswells' Gallery did not have wide popular appeal, it significantly bolstered his reputation as an avant-garde artist who was capable of significant stylistic innovation.

However, for a professional artist it was not enough to receive critical support from his peers. It was also essential to have the financial backing of collectors and patrons. Thus, despite receiving a wealth of positive acclamation from critics who rated his work as '*caviare* to the general public…A better collection of pastels we never saw,'[165] Guthrie failed to sell any of his pieces to London collectors. It is revealing, therefore, that just four months later in March 1891 Guthrie chose to stage a second solo show of his pastels in Glasgow. In his own locale, Guthrie was assured of a more favourable reception for his work by critics and collectors alike. Surprisingly, given Reid's close involvement in the exhibition at Dowdeswells', the show was not staged in his gallery but rather was hosted by his competitor, Thomas Lawrie & Son.[166] This may have been because Reid's gallery was unavailable at the time or because Lawrie offered more space to hang a larger collection of works. However, the fact that Guthrie abandoned his more avant-garde approach to exhibition marketing suggests that he and Reid may have misjudged this aspect of the London show. Certainly, this time a

[164] Moore, G., 'The Week', *The Speaker*, (13 Dec 1890), p.658.
[165] 'Some Current Exhibitions', *The British Architect*, (12 Dec 1890), p.438.
[166] Fowle, 2008, p.139.

catalogue was conspicuously available and Guthrie furnished all his pastels with titles that would have been familiar to Scottish audiences.[167] For example, *The Luss Road*, was identifiable to those who had travelled along it but without this marker of legibility the scene could have been from almost anywhere. As a result, the pictures now had a resonance which was lost on their London audience. Reviewers also gave more favourable coverage to this exhibition of works by a local artist who was enjoying international acclaim. As a reporter for the Glasgow-based weekly journal, *The Baillie* enthused, 'Mr Guthrie is a born pastelliste…He has chosen, naturally, simple subjects, and into his renderings of these he has thrown his own individuality and his dextrous and unerring appreciation of values.'[168] Such critical commendation together with the attractiveness of the pieces as aesthetic objects and the now contextualised subject matter meant that Guthrie's fortunes were entirely reversed in Glasgow and the show was a complete sell-out. It is clear from Caw's records that nearly all of the 51 pieces went to local collectors including James Gardiner with whom Guthrie had lodged in Stirling in 1888 and William Burrell who bought *The Luss Road.*[169] The very different outcomes of the London and Glasgow shows demonstrate the crucial importance of a cogent marketing strategy which would simultaneously promote the artist's personal style and confirm the collectability of modern pastels.

Guthrie was one of the few artists who chose to be represented in a solo setting by his pastels. In most cases, pastels formed part of a more broad-ranging retrospective exhibition where it was easier to appreciate the importance of pastel within the artist's

[167] See appendix D.
[168] 'Meglip', *The Baillie*, (18 March 1891), p.16.
[169] Caw, 1932, pp.233-5; seven works went with the Hay family to New Zealand, two ended up with English collectors and one was resold in Munich. See Appendix D.

oeuvre by the number and quality of the works shown in this medium. This was the format adopted for Stott's 1896 retrospective show which was held at the Goupil Gallery, the London branch of the Parisian firm Boussod, Valadon & Cie. It was managed by David Croal Thomson (1855-1930) who had broadened the scope of the gallery's exhibitions to include pioneering Continental art as well as the latest in contemporary British art.[170] He would have been familiar with the development of Stott's style through his role as a writer for *The Art Journal* from 1881 to 1885 and as editor in 1892. In his professional capacity he had also arranged shows for many of Stott's close associates including the London Impressionists in 1889, Lavery in 1891 and Whistler in 1892.[171] It was perhaps for this reason that Thomson felt confident in awarding Stott the first and only retrospective held within his lifetime. Significantly, as part of the process of staging this show Stott took the opportunity to reflect on his artistic career and detailed all of his works and exhibition history in his notebook. From this source it is possible to see that his pastels were some of his most widely exhibited works. For example, *The Eiger* [fig.65] pastel from his Alps series had featured at the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition of 1889, the Manchester Academy in 1890 followed by the Alpine Club 1892, Chicago 1893 and finally Prague in 1894.[172] Indeed, the significance of these works for the augmentation of Stott's status as a leading figure of avant-garde art in Britain was reflected in the overall hang of the retrospective exhibition in which fifteen of the forty-four works were pastels.[173]

[170] Helmreich, A., 'David Croal Thomson: The Professionalization of art dealing in an expanding field', *Getty Research Journal*, no.5, (2013), pp.94-6.
[171] Fowle, 2008, p.141.
[172] Stott, MS, 1896, pp.30 and 38.
[173] 'Pictures by William Stott of Oldham', [exh.cat.], The Goupil Gallery, 5 Regent Street, April-May 1896.

Included in this display were some of his best-known early works such as *Summer Moonlight* [fig.23] and *Sandpools* [fig.32] as well as more recent pieces such as *A Freshet* [fig.70] and *White Torrent* which were from his waterfall series, made in the early 1890s.[174] This allowed Stott's technical accomplishment with the medium to be seen collectively for the first time and as these works were hung alongside his paintings it was clear to see how the properties of pastel had informed his technical repertoire. Critics were especially drawn to his harmonious tonality, deft handling of light and the soft powdery texture of the pastel pigment. One reviewer commented that, 'Nothing more delicate or subtle in the way of colour can well be conceived'[175] whilst another went so far as to say that Stott's 'delicate perception of exquisite tones of colour mark him as one of our foremost artists.'[176] In this way, Stott's use of pastel as part of his creative practice and as an art form in its own right singled him out as an exceptional talent on the contemporary art scene. Indeed, his independence and avant-garde style were emphasised in the preface to the catalogue in which Hall Caine described these works as, 'new thoughts, new dreams, the thoughts and dreams of an individuality that stands apart, and is itself and none other.'[177] It is possible to conclude then that Stott, at least in part owed the evolution of his highly original style to the series of exhibitions that had promoted pastel as an essential medium for creative invention.

Conclusion

The three consecutive pastel exhibitions staged at the Grosvenor Gallery between 1888 and 1890 were pivotal for the display and promotion of the pastel medium in Britain.

[174] For information on the waterfall series see, Brown, 2003, pp.89-90.
[175] 'Mr William Stott's Pictures', *The Observer*, (10 May 1896), p.2.
[176] 'Other London Exhibitions', *The Art Journal*, (June 1896), p.189.
[177] 'Pictures by William Stott of Oldham', 1896 [exh.cat.], p.3.

Their dedicated purpose was to showcase the special qualities of pastel and the ways in which it was being adapted to suit a modern aesthetic. The exhibitions represented the evolution of a display policy which would culminate in the creation of the Society of British Pastellists in 1890. Initially masterminded by the gallery owner, Sir Coutts Lindsay and his recently appointed gallery manager, Charles Deschamps, the first selection of exhibits was marked by an insistence on contemporaneity and the full breadth and vitality of the burgeoning pastel movement. The Grosvenor Gallery provided the perfect setting for such a venture as it had already established its credentials as a forum for the presentation of avant-garde art.[178] The first exhibition featured British pastels by living artists supplemented by a sample of contemporary French examples of the art form. The inclusion of the latest in Continental pastel art was a defining feature of the first and last Grosvenor Gallery exhibitions whilst the second show attracted only a small contingent of French-based artists who had submitted works the previous year. The purpose of this strategy was two-fold. It aimed not only to foster the wider international context of the pastel movement but also served a didactic function by showcasing the latest developments in Continental creative practice.

The exchange of ideas between artists was a key element in driving forward stylistic and technical innovation. For the purposes of this thesis, it is significant that although Clausen, Stott and Armstrong sent works to all three of the pastel exhibitions held at the Grosvenor Gallery, Guthrie participated only in the third and final show in October 1890. Stott and Armstrong had already exhibited pastels at the SBA whereas until this

[178] Casteras, S., 'Burne-Jones and the Pre-Raphaelite Circle at the Palace of the Aesthetes', in Casteras and Denney, 1996, p.92.

time, Clausen's pastels had formed a significant part of his oeuvre, never intended for public exhibition. The opportunity to exhibit in a media-specific setting, clearly appealed to these three artists as it would foreground their prowess with pastel and at the same time elevate the status of this previously marginalised art form. Guthrie's development as an artist was such that the advent of the first show coincided with the completion of his Stirlingshire pastel series in the winter of 1888. It was perhaps for this reason that he chose instead to exhibit these works at the NEAC and the GIFA the following year. Encouraged by the positive reception of the works at these shows and by the continuing popularity of the pastel trend, he began in the spring of 1890 his Helensburgh series, which would confirm his standing as a pastel artist. This was undoubtedly taken into account in the decision to invite Guthrie to participate in the Society of British Pastellists' exhibition held at the Grosvenor Gallery in October 1890. All of my four chosen artists' involvement in this newly formed professional organisation allowed for the consolidation of their artistic reputations whilst at the same time helping to raise the overall standard of the exhibition and strengthen its appeal to contemporary art audiences. The handover from an institutional to an artist-led initiative was intended to secure the continued growth and sustainability of the pastel movement. However, the standard of exhibits submitted to the second show had been compromised amid accusations of amateurism and faddishness from art critics who also rejected the radical nature of the more avant-garde pieces.

Despite the sustained attempt to answer such criticism in the third show, the movement lost momentum following Sir Coutts Lindsay's enforced decision to abandon the Grosvenor Gallery in its present incarnation, as a result of his personal financial ruin.

Even after the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery and the demise of the Society of British Pastellists in 1890, which will be dealt with in more detail in chapter five, it is possible to discern that these three exhibitions had an enduring impact on the trend for pastel. The publicity which they generated encouraged other exhibiting societies to be more accommodating to the medium in both mixed-media and solo shows. This in turn allowed artists to continue to work with and display their experiments in pastel and created a more diverse range of exhibiting opportunities. In this way, the pastel shows not only redefined the reputation of pastel as a modern medium but also the means by which a new art form was displayed and promoted in Britain.

Chapter 4 The "Feminine" Medium

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to look again at the writings of contemporary commentators like Charles Blanc to see what impact their ideas had on the perception of pastel as a "feminine" medium. This will in turn help to contextualise Elizabeth Armstrong, some of her female counterparts as well as my other chosen artists. My arguments acknowledge the secondary scholarship of Linda Nochlin, Griselda Pollock, Deborah Cherry and Pamela Gerrish Nunn.[1] Writing largely in the 1980s and early 1990s, they sought to account for the relative absence of women artists in literature pertaining to the Victorian period by analysing the effect of contemporary constructs of femininity on their artistic training and practice as well as their options for exhibition. I recognise that the scope of their studies and inconsistencies in the available source material necessitate a note of caution when applying their readings to an area of art such as pastel, not previously discussed in this context. In addition to using feminist ideologies to unpick gender issues surrounding the appeal of pastel for women, it is important to examine as a counterpoint the anti-establishment stance which recommended to men a medium that was itself deemed by the mid-nineteenth century to be intrinsically feminine. In practice, this meant that pastel's reputation was based upon characteristics such as delicacy and prettiness which it shared with women. It is an essential part of my methodology to analyse the newspaper reviews of the works submitted by both male and female artists to the three dedicated pastel shows at

[1] Nochlin, L., *Women, Art and Power and Other Essays*, (New York: Westview Press, 1989); Gerrish Nunn, P., *Victorian Women Artists*, (London: The Women's Press, 1987); Pollock, G., *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art*, (London: Routledge, 1988); Cherry, D., *Painting Women: Victorian Women Artists*, (London: Routledge, 1993).

the Grosvenor Gallery. These reviews are taken from a variety of publications including newspapers, women's magazines and specialist art journals. By employing such a diverse range of sources, it is possible to avoid what Laurel Brake and Julie Codell have identified as the 'illusion of unity in periodicals' and instead explore 'the multi-vocal discourse of periodical texts by editors, writers, and readers.'[2] This analysis is prefigured by the gallery's crucial role in the continued success of the pastel movement and its status as a forum for avant-garde art.

Equally, it is important to recognise that the Grosvenor Gallery exhibitions were still dominated by men. Viewed from the perspective of some of the earlier feminist literature, this fact serves only to confirm the marginalisation of women in all aspects of artistic life during this period. However, several more recent studies, dedicated to the professional involvement of women in the Arts, have questioned such a simplistic generalisation. Thus, Kyriaki Hadjiafxendi and Patricia Zakreski (2013) have argued that far from being at a perpetual disadvantage, women's engagement with so-called 'lesser' art forms, such as pastel, enabled them to achieve both personal artistic innovation and professional advancement.[3] At the same time, consideration must be given to the nuanced reasons why male artists began to experiment with the pastel medium, in terms of contemporary constructs of masculinity. Such issues underpin Martin Danahay's 2005 book in which he attempts to show that male artists adopted particular themes and techniques in response to prevailing ideas about manliness.[4] On the other hand, Andrew Stephenson (2000) has made the case that notions of the

[2] Brake, L. and Codell, J., (ed.), *Encounters in the Victorian Press: Editors, Authors, Readers,* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p.2.
[3] Hadjiafxendi and Zakreski, (ed.), 2013, p.2.
[4] Danahay, 2005, pp.9-10.

masculine were being refashioned towards the end of the nineteenth century. Using Whistler as his example, he convincingly demonstrates that avant-garde artists' rejection of traditional gender positions led to the emergence of a modern male identity.[5] In this way, male artists' appropriation of a so-called feminine medium such as pastel could be seen as part of this process of evolution. The trend for pastel coincided with a re-assessment of gender roles. Thus, by discussing contemporary perceptions of pastel as a feminine art form, its use by both male and female artists and the way these works were displayed and received, I hope to highlight how this movement was in many ways defined by these complex and interweaving socio-cultural debates.

A "Feminine" Medium?

As explained in chapter two, pastel was considered by commentators from the mid-nineteenth century to be a lesser medium in the hierarchy of artistic practice. For some such as Ruskin, it was believed to be suitable only for preliminary sketches as it lacked the necessary level of finish to be accorded the status of an independent art form.[6] For others, however, there was no such barrier to its use as a medium in its own right. What was more problematic was finding a professional display space which celebrated pastel as a serious art form worthy of the same financial return as any equivalent oil painting. The supposed inferiority of this medium and the obstacles faced by pastel artists echo the patriarchal division of gender at this time. It is perhaps unsurprising then, that some art critics tended to use gendered language when discussing the properties that were unique to pastel and how best they might be applied. The

[5] Stephenson, A., 2000, pp.133-149.
[6] Ruskin J., 'Catalogue of the Rudimentary Series, 1872', in Cook and Wedderburn, 1906, p.258.

champion of this approach was Charles Blanc (1813-1882) whose descriptions of the medium were based on prescribed notions of femininity such as softness, fragility and sweet colour effects. However, this was a period when the definitions of both masculinity and femininity were becoming less distinct, particularly as women artists moved into the professional sphere and male artists took up activities once the preserve of women. It is necessary therefore to consider how and why Blanc chose to cast pastel as a feminine medium and the implications of such a stance for its later adherents.

Blanc's reputation as a writer on art theory was augmented by his *Grammaire des arts du Dessin*, first published in 1867, which consisted of a series of articles written for the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. This influential publication was subsequently translated into English by the American Kate Newell Doggett in 1874 and was re-printed three times between 1874 and 1891. In Britain, his treatises were widely read but regarded with a certain cynicism, as demonstrated by an article published in *The Saturday Review* in 1869 which noted that Blanc's motivation for writing the *Grammaire* was that as a result of, 'finding that the world in general is in a state of profound ignorance about the fine arts, [he] has kindly resolved to teach it the rudiments of criticism.'[7] Despite this tongue-in-cheek remark, Blanc's theories about colour have been shown by Misook Song to have had a significant impact on the stylistic development of artists such as Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890) and Georges Seurat (1859-1891).[8] Thus, it seems likely that many of the artists who would go on to use pastel in the 1880s were at least familiar with the technical precepts discussed in this widely-circulated text. It is significant then for the purposes of this study that the English edition included a new

[7] 'Blanc's Grammar of Art', *The Saturday Review*, (22 May 1869), p.691.
[8] Song, M., *Art Theories of Charles Blanc, 1813-1882*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research, 1984), pp.116-8.

section on what Blanc considered to be the unique properties of pastel and its relative merits as an artistic practice. In it he described the method of using pastels as 'pastel painting' or in his words,

> 'painting with pastels of different colours put on dry, and soft enough to be powdered under the finger. A colourist who wishes to catch fugitive tints, a painter who desires to assure himself promptly of a certain effect, uses pastel, because it demands no preparation, and may be interrupted and resumed at pleasure.'[9]

This suggests that for Blanc at least pastel was essentially chromatic and therefore a form of painting as opposed to drawing. The significance of this distinction became clear when viewed in the light of Blanc's central thesis. He believed that drawing or the linear description of form was the essential foundation of all art whilst colour served a vital but secondary role. He stated that, 'as sentiment is multiple, while reason is one, so colour is a mobile, vague, intangible element, while form, on the contrary, is precise, limited, palpable and constant.'[10] Blanc compared this distinction with what he considered to be the natural division of the sexes or the inherent characteristics of masculinity and femininity. He opined that, 'the union of drawing and colour is necessary for engendering painting, just as the union between man and woman is for engendering humanity, but it is necessary that drawing keep its preponderance over colour. If it is otherwise painting courts its ruin; it will be lost by colour like humanity was lost by Eve.'[11] Thus, by suggesting that pastel was principally concerned with colour, Blanc was insinuating that it was fundamentally a feminine medium.

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[9] Blanc, C., trans., Kate Doggett Newall, 1874, p.190.
[10] *Ibid*., p.146.
[11] *'L'union du dessin et de la couleur est nécessaire pour engendrer la peinture, comme l'union de l'homme et de la femme pour engendrer l'humanité; mais il faut que le dessin conserve sa prépondérance sur la couleur. S'il en est autrement,la peinture court à sa ruine; elle sera perdue par la couleur comme l'humanité fut perdue par Ève.'* Blanc, *Grammaire des Arts du Dessin*, (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1867), p.22.

Blanc further elaborated the association of pastel with what were understood to be feminine qualities in his description of its textural properties. He stated that, 'the grace of pastel is also its defect – to be friable and to fall in dust…But it is to be feared that in giving it solidity and durability, we should take from it the exquisite dust, that flower of youth, so to say, that makes its fleeting delicacy, but also its charm, its value.'[12] This statement is replete with references to the characteristics usually associated with markers of middle-class feminine identity, namely youthful beauty, delicacy, charm and a certain fragility of temperament. His readership, both male and female, would have clearly understood this analogy as it was one that had been popularised in tracts and images dating from the mid-century. For example, in Sarah Stickney Ellis's etiquette manual, *The Daughters of England*, (c.1845), she encouraged her readers to take up drawing because it was, 'of all other occupations the one most calculated to keep the mind from brooding upon the self, and maintain that general cheerfulness which is part of social and domestic duty.'[13] At the same time, Ruskin's strongly-held Evangelical beliefs which posited that virtuous women should be wives, homemakers and devoted mothers infiltrated all aspects of his writing on art, culture and society.[14] In one of his most outspoken essays on women and education, 'Of Queens' Gardens', (1865), he suggested that 'in art, keep the finest models before her, and let her practice in all accomplishments be accurate and thorough, so as to enable her to understand more than she accomplishes.'[15] In other words, art for a woman was nothing more

[12] *Op.cit*., p.191.
[13] Ellis, S. Stickney, *The Daughters of England: their position in society, character and responsibilities*, (London: Fisher, Son & Co., c.1845), p.109.
[14] Landow, G., 'Ruskin's Religious Beliefs' in *Aesthetic and Critical Theories of John Ruskin*, (New ed.), (Princeton University Press, 2015), pp.254-331.
[15] Ruskin, 'Of Queens' Gardens' published in Ruskin, J., *Sesame and Lilies*, (London, 1865), p.121.

than an ancillary activity. Something of the same attitude persisted well into the century. As late as 1890, in his review of the Grosvenor pastel exhibition, the reporter from *The Daily News* dismissed this essentially, 'frivolous, light, lady-like form of art' as unsuited to 'serious professional work.'[16]

Indeed, for some commentators, pastel's feminine attributes and its continued association with women automatically limited its use to certain genres and types of artist. For example, Blanc had stated that 'pastel is suitable only for the portrait, landscape, or still life.' This might seem like an innocuous statement but when viewed within the context of pervading artistic hierarchies, these subjects and by association this material, were seen as inferior to history painting. Pamela Gerrish Nunn has shown that with the exception of Lady Butler Thompson (1846-1933) and E. M. Osborn (1828-1925), women artists generally did not pursue historical subjects because their training lacked the rigorous study of anatomy from the nude required to fix the poses.[17] Instead, she argues that through the perpetuation of accepted stereotypes of female subject matter that included flower studies, child portraits or picturesque landscapes that 'women's art will be "women's work" first and art second.'[18] In other words, these pieces were viewed as being commonplace and commercial rather than esteemed High Art. Thus, it is noteworthy that in the final section of his article, Blanc reinforced this position by stating that pastel 'has not the depth of oil painting' and that the soft, opacity of the medium should be reserved for

[16] 'The Society of British Pastellists,' *The Daily News*, (17 Oct 1890), p.6.
[17] Gerrish Nunn, pp.16 and 22; E. M. Osborn participated in all three GG pastel shows. 1888 cat.nos. 45, 132, 135 and 166; 1889 cat.nos. 108, 219, 240, 256, 299 and 382; 1890 cat.nos. 186, 247 and 309.
[18] *Ibid.* p.22.

'the down of the skin' or 'the velvety appearance of fruit'.[19] He was further insinuating that pastel was superficial and lacked the technical power to be used for anything other than pretty portraits or still life arrangements of fruit or flowers. His deliberate labelling of pastel as feminine and thereby a lesser art form further explains why pastel was believed to be such an obscure medium at the moment of its revival.

From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, public opinion was beginning to change as women achieved greater access to art education. Crucially, professional training offered women the chance to pursue art as a career rather than a polite pastime. Pioneering female artists such as Laura Herford (1833-1870), who was the first woman to be admitted to the RA Schools in 1860, provided important role models for young women to emulate. Indeed, Louise Jopling who contributed to all three pastel shows at the Grosvenor Gallery, even cited her as a personal inspiration in her memoir published in 1925.[20] The expanding opportunities for female artists in Britain are evident in the artists' annual, *The Year's Art*, which in 1880 listed four national art institutions that offered a programme of classes for women.[21] Armstrong, as previously discussed in chapter one, attended classes at the South Kensington School which was the same institution where Clausen trained. She described to her biographer in 1906 how it was her father's wish that she should have every opportunity to study and that it was he who had insisted that Armstrong go to England to study art.[22]

[19] Blanc, C., Kate Doggett Newall trans., 1874, p.191.
[20] Jopling-Rowe, L., *Twenty Years of my Life, 1867 to 1887*, (London: John Lane and the Bodley Head Ltd., 1925), p.6.
[21] The Government School of Design; Royal Academy, South Kensington School and the Slade Art School. Huish, Marcus B., 'Art Schools', *The Year's Art*, (London: Macmillan & Co., 1880), pp.93-101.
[22] Birch, 1906, p.56.

Though he did not manage to make the journey himself, his wishes were honoured when she was enrolled in her early teens. She did not recall that her sex was a disadvantage to her studies in London, as she did when she was in Munich, but rather her youth and inexperience. She commented that, 'it was almost a pity that I was set so soon to follow the school routine; most of my companions were beyond me in age and development.'[23] Indeed, Clausen had already worked in a drawing office that designed furniture and decorative objects before he was able to secure a two-year scholarship to the South Kensington School. In his recollections of his training he lamented that, 'we gained nothing from our masters beyond a few hints in practice.'[24] The focus on design at the South Kensington School, to the detriment of Fine Art, might seem to suggest that Armstrong's early training was typical of a system that channelled women's artistic endeavour towards applied or decorative arts. However, to maintain such a position fails to acknowledge that she was in receipt of the same artistic education as her male contemporaries. At the very least, this shows that during the late 1870s and early 1880s, women's horizons were being broadened as they gained access to the requisite training for a career as a professional artist.

Greater opportunities for artistic development were not confined to Britain or to a particular gender. Again, as previously mentioned in chapter one both male and female artists travelled abroad to complete some or all of their artistic studies. During their time overseas many artists often enjoyed a greater level of freedom than was available at home. Paris proved attractive to many female artists who could take advantage of the expanding number of private ateliers to receive training from the

[23] *Ibid*., p.57.
[24] Clausen, 1931, p.17.

same maîtres as men. The scale of female artists' emigration to Paris has been documented by Morris who records that despite inflated cost and restricted access to the nude some thirty women were registered as attending classes in the main ateliers between 1880 and 1890.[25] Among their number were Jopling and Marianne Stokes both of whom would go on to participate in the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows. However, women's recorded experience of Paris is notably different from male artists' accounts. So for example, Shaw-Sparrow confirmed that Stott was part of a close-knit group of male artists who used to meet regularly in Parisian cafés to discuss art.[26] Pollock contrasts this with the experience of women who were still largely denied access to spaces like cafés, pleasure gardens, bars and crowded boulevards, which came to represent middle-class artistic life in modern Paris.[27] The comprehensive study of European artists' colonies by Nina Lübbren documents a more relaxed regime where such constraints were notably absent.[28] Certainly, Armstrong's time at the artists' colony at Pont-Aven, spent with a, 'lively picturesque group of men and women' was fondly remembered in her written recollections.[29] Typically, then many of the artists who would go on to become part of the pastel movement began their careers at a time when the gender divide was being tested by developments in artistic education both at home and abroad.

This is not to suggest that all artists were striving for gender equality or that long-held beliefs in the essential differences between the sexes were somehow cast aside. The

[25] Morris, 2005, pp.290-2.
[26] Shaw-Sparrow, 1911, p.41.
[27] Pollock, 1988, pp.70-3.
[28] Lübbren, N., *Rural artists' colonies in Europe, 1870-1910*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp.2-3.
[29] Birch, 1906, p.62.

traditional roles of men and women were entrenched at a societal level and the art world was no exception. As Ruskin so candidly pointed out in 1873, 'the duty of a man is to support his wife and children, that of a woman to make him happy in his home, and to bring up his children wisely. No woman is capable of more than that. No man should do less.'[30] Thus, as the number of women entering the artistic profession increased there was a critical backlash by those, such as Ruskin, who wanted to maintain the status quo. For example, G. D. Leslie suggested that women were innately incapable of producing real art because 'they lack the self-reliant conceit which so often characterises the brightest geniuses of the male sex.'[31] He continued in this vein when he was discussing what he described as 'the invasion' by female artists of that bastion of professional artistic identity, the RA. He suggested that their presence in the classroom served as a distraction and consequently, 'there has been somehow a general deterioration in the excellence of the work done in the Schools'.[32] His language suggests that women were to blame for declining standards amongst the male cohort but this might also be indicative of his and other male artists' underlying resentment of women's presence in an already overcrowded art market. Indeed, he goes on to concede that a buoyant art market in the 1850s and 60s convinced too many young aspirants to take up art as a profession. Declining sales in the following decades led to an excess of artists who were forced to make a living from making saleable works rather than High Art. Yet, by conflating the issues of women professionals, falling standards of artistic practice and the production of too much inferior work,

[30] Ruskin to Mme Roch, 8 May 1873, quoted in Cook and Wedderburn, 1906, vol. 34, p.509.
[31] Leslie, 1914, p.48.
[32] *Ibid.*, p.43.

Leslie was reiterating the contemporary arguments of traditionalists like Blanc and Ruskin that equated femininity in art with amateurism and the merely decorative.

It was not only men, however, who would espouse these ideas. Thus, in 1861 Flora Fraser encouraged the readers of her etiquette manual, *The English Gentlewoman*, to indulge in artistic activity as a social accomplishment to complement their essential duties as wives, home-makers and hostesses.[33] Her argument in fact foreshadows Ruskin's 'Of Queens' Gardens' and shows that during this period there was an accepted image of womanhood firmly located in the domestic sphere. It was this perfunctory division of gender that led Pollock to conclude that a sense of innate social conformity had a detrimental effect on female artists' ability to embrace innovative subject matter and techniques. She describes this phenomenon as a 'trap of circularity' and goes on to elaborate that 'socially shaped within the feminine, their art is made to confirm femininity as an inescapable condition understood perpetually from the ideological patriarchal definition of it.'[34] According to Pollock's assessment then, it was inevitable that an art form like pastel, defined by Blanc as feminine, should attract a following amongst female artists. Thus, it was considered that women used pastel because it would not present a challenge to the existing patriarchal order of the art world. However, this argument, whilst seeking to account for female artists' lesser status in the history of art from this period, assumes a certain level of passivity. Women, unable to escape the role ascribed to them, accepted their lot by adopting an art form that lacked the visual impact or artistic status which would rival their male

[33] Fraser, F., *The English Gentlewoman: a practical manual for young ladies*, (London: James Hogg, 1861), p.43.
[34] Pollock, 1988, p.84.

counterparts. Yet, it is also possible to suggest that women were not just blindly following societal mores but rather were deliberately manipulating the constructs of femininity to make subtle encroachments into the art market. Indeed, choosing to work in pastel at the moment of its revival can be seen as a shrewd strategy by women artists keen to appear not only non-threatening but also relevant in terms of contemporary art trends.

By working within accepted notions of femininity, whether passively or actively, women artists can be understood as complicit in the continuing assertion that pastel was feminine. At the same time, such connotations with their overtures of softness, fragility and amateurism, would surely have made the medium an unpopular choice for professional male artists who wanted to retain their privileged position in the public sphere. This may account for the efforts of contemporary commentators to advocate certain pastel techniques that could be described as more manly. So, for example, some reviewers of the first pastel exhibition would couch their praise for a certain artist's work in language that emphasised its masculine qualities. Monkhouse used this tactic to commend Hubert Vos's pastels because, according to him, 'their forte is rather chiaroscuro than colour, strength than vivacity, character than charm.'[35] His promotion of qualities such as strength, vigour, precision and expertise are the very antithesis of what were held to be the feminine attributes of pastel. By adopting techniques that prioritised line, careful hatching, fine detail and finish, male artists could use pastel without attracting accusations of effeminacy. In this context, male artists' pastel works

[35] Monkhouse, C., 'The First Pastel Exhibition' *The Academy*, (3 Nov 1888), p.294.

did not present a challenge to existing gender distinctions but rather sought to confirm them.

However, as previously alluded to in chapter one such meticulous techniques, particularly those recommended by Murray, were being abandoned by younger artists who sought to question traditional artistic hierarchies and produce art that was pioneering both stylistically and technically. Lisa Tickner has shown that such radical questioning of the status quo extended to existing notions of gender and that the blurring of these distinctions through creative practice led to the development of a uniquely modern aesthetic.[36] Indeed, this same argument has been employed by Stephenson in his study of the ways in which Whistler capitalised on the breakdown of established gender roles 'as a dynamic site for a new and thoroughly modern cosmopolitanism.'[37] He achieved this by adopting a dandyish persona, taking an extensive interest in fashion and decoration and developing a vibrant social scene, replete with like-minded individuals both male and female. Stott and Armstrong were members of this close circle and it is evident that they were in sympathy with Whistler's unorthodox ideas. Stott, for example, shared a similar interest in all aspects of the poetic and aesthetic in Nature and as a result sought to emulate the ethereal colour effects of Whistler's painted nocturnes of the Thames in his own pastels. On the other hand, Armstrong's presence as the only woman in this avant-garde group attests to her unusual status as an independent, professional artist. Her stance was viewed by some critics as a necessary course of action for those female artists who

[36] Tickner, L., 'Men's Work? Masculinity and Modernism' in Bryson, N. [et al.], *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretation*, (Hanover, New England: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), p.47.
[37] Stephenson, 2000, p.133.

were keen to distance themselves from amateurs. However, this incidentally had the effect of making them appear more masculine. As Walter Shaw Sparrow explained in an article on the watercolourist, Eleanor Fortesque-Brickdale (1872-1945), in his experience, 'there is at the present time very little recognition for any lady artistic genius who does not aim at becoming *un homme manqué*.'[38] Certainly, Armstrong's association with such a radical group caused her future husband Stanhope Forbes considerable anxiety because he thought her reputation as a respectable woman might be compromised. The way in which both these artists adopted salient attributes of the opposing gender, supports the assertion that these roles were no longer regarded as entirely separate.

It is no coincidence then, that the contrasting feminine and masculine aspects of pastel, namely colour and delicacy matched by strong line and bold contrasts, commended its use to all artists. Certainly, some of the treatises on art aimed at a younger generation of British artists attempted to promote its technical ambiguity. Thus, Hamerton in 1882 sought to redress the gendered associations surrounding pastel when he stated that,

> 'the charm and effeminate softness which distinguish so many pastels have also produced an impression, a very erroneous yet a very natural impression, that the art is incapable of manly and vigorous delineation. Pastel is more durable than people think, and it is, or may be, a more firm and masculine art than a careless world imagines.'[39]

It could be argued that by suggesting pastel was in fact more masculine than people had previously believed, Hamerton was simply reinforcing the gender distinctions

[38] Sparrow, W. Shaw, 'On Some Watercolour Pictures by Miss Eleanor Fortesque-Brickdale,' *The Studio*, (1901), p.32.
[39] Hamerton, 1882, p.151.

which presented powerful art as male whilst delicate art was innately female. However, this statement must be viewed within the context of Hamerton's theory that an artist must match his creative vision to the properties of the medium at hand. Therefore, it seems that he was arguing that by using pastel an artist should be attuned to its dual aspects in order to produce important new pieces of work. Many of those who were pursuing a modern aesthetic were drawn to pastel because of the possibilities it presented for a dynamic interplay between sharp contours and softly worked areas of colour. This was certainly a feature of Stott's, *Fischerhorn Glacier,* 1888 [fig.34] and Guthrie's, *Tennis,* 1890 [fig.58].

In this way, pastel did not just create new ways for an artist to depict his subject matter but the practical means for its implementation. The fact that pastels were supplied in pre-arranged sets that could be taken along with a sketchpad to almost any location meant that they had the potential to liberate the artist from the restrictions of the studio environment. Yet, painting and sketching out-of-doors was nothing new in this period. *Punch* magazine regularly published cartoons featuring an artist working at his easel in a landscape setting. In one such example from 1879, a cosmopolitan young artist is painting in a countryside location when he is approached by two locals who are unable to recognise the subject of his picture from their own experience [fig.71]. The comic is lampooning both *plein-air* styles of art and the perceived ignorance of the rural populace. This latter imputation caused female artists seeking to pursue real-life atmospheric effects, to take steps to avoid contact with such individuals for fear of attracting accusations of impropriety. One available remedy for overcoming this problem was noted in an article on Armstrong, published in 1893. 'Mrs Forbes

attaches great importance to the actual painting of the picture out of doors' which the author explains she managed through the use of a 'moveable studio', to preserve her modesty.[40] Pastel, then, far from being reserved for studio portraits and still-life pieces as Blanc had implied, was ideally suited to the modern artist's desire for immediacy when transcribing *plein-air* landscapes or figurative scenes. Unlike oil paint or watercolour, pastel required no preparatory process before it could be used and the artist did not need to wait for the layers to dry before proceeding with any subsequent details. Indeed, Jopling encouraged her students to use pastel because, 'it is an easier method as far as the mere colour goes, as it never gets "tacky" nor does it sink in after the second coating and become "dead."'[41] Thus, pastel allowed both male and female artists to extend the range of their subject matter beyond any prescribed notion of masculine or feminine themes.

However, the facility of application that recommended pastel use to modern artists suggested to critics, a lack of rigour usually associated with the social 'finishing' of women. A critic from the *Manchester Courier* explained that pastel had been, 'considered one of the accomplishments without an elementary knowledge of which no fair pupil was permitted to leave Miss Pinkerton's establishment and be considered "fashionably accomplished."'[42] This may explain why it remained in obscurity for almost a century only to enjoy such an exponential growth in popularity amongst young artists who were keen to test the boundaries of what art could be. Thus, the

[40] E.B.S., 'The Paintings and Etchings of Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes', *The Studio*, (1893), pp.187 and 192.
[41] Jopling, 1900, p.54.
[42] 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (29 Oct 1888), p.8.

very properties that had served to disadvantage it in the past now became highly prized. Indeed, pastel's ease of use meant that artists could circumvent the laborious techniques prescribed by the Royal Academy and focus on the expressive possibilities of the medium. The fact that it was an inexpensive medium also had numerous advantages for emerging artists who might not have had the financial resources to turn out numerous oil paintings or who especially valued the quick income that an affordable piece could bring. Indeed, a critic from *The Times* encouraged his readers to buy pastels as, 'a good artist will do a pastel portrait for less than a bad artist will paint a portrait in oils.'[43] However, by producing cheap, small-scale works, artists left themselves open to accusations of commercialism, which compromised any attempt to transform public perceptions of pastel. Such censure was also used to marginalise the work of female artists. Thus, it is possible to suggest that the attempts of modern artists to prioritise the use of lesser media helped to foreground the art establishment's bias against women's creative practice.

Female artists and their use of pastel

In many ways, pastel was ideally suited to the activities of middle-class women who were practising art as a form of polite accomplishment. Not only was it seen as innately feminine both in terms of texture and colour but pastel was also considered to be a more genteel art form than oil painting with its messy and sometimes laborious preparation process. This was alluded to by a critic writing under the pseudonym of Penelope whose ladies' column was widely available as it was reproduced verbatim in

[43] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Times*, (20 Oct 1888), p.7.

at least four provincial newspapers published across the UK.[44] She recommended the use of pastel to women because 'there is none of the disagreeable smell of turpentine, or the almost necessary mess which oil colours entail whenever they are manipulated.'[45] Consequently, it did not impinge on women's sense of ladylike decorum or interfere with their duties as household managers and good wives. Furthermore, pastel was seen as a medium in which those practising on a casual basis could achieve a pleasing result without any formal training. Indeed, in her book, *Hints to Amateurs*, Jopling describes pastel as, 'an excellent intermediary between black and white and the more exacting mediums [sic] of oil and water colours.'[46] The belief that pastel was historically the preserve of amateur female artists for whom it constituted a pleasing pastime was reinforced by Penelope who said it reminded her of 'old world art and the days when educated young ladies were supposed to be "finished" in "pastel drawing, embroidery and the harp!'[47]

This perception was confirmed by the repeated inclusion of a caricature entitled 'Chalk it up!' in a variety of publications. Its first appearance in *Judy-The London Serio-Comic Journal* in 1890 was illustrated by Maurice Grieffenhagen (1862-1931) [fig.72]. It depicts a fashionably dressed young man and woman walking down the street conversing about her work in progress. The male protagonist, Franky, asks her 'what painting are you doing now?' to which, Millicent, replies 'I'm not doing any painting, I am working in pastel.' He reacts as if he has no knowledge of this medium

[44] It is known that this column was reproduced in *The Western Times*, *The Leicester Chronicle*, *The Wrexham Advertiser* and the *Dundee Evening Telegraph.*
[45] Penelope, 'Our Ladies' Column', *The Western Times*, (6 Nov 1888), p.6.
[46] Jopling, 1900, p.54.
[47] *Op.cit.*

suggesting that the trend for pastel was limited to women artists and enthusiasts. When she explains to her companion that pastels are 'coloured chalks' and 'the best effects are got with the tips of the fingers' there is an underlying implication of amateurism that is linked to the Royal Academy's condemnation of the stump whereby contours are blurred using a tight roll of paper or a finger.[48] This was considered to be a simpler way of achieving contrasts rather than adopting the very fine gradations of tone taught in the Royal Academy School. Franky then appears to dismiss her attempts to experiment with this medium by stating, 'There's a man up there doing it [pastel drawing] on the pavement. Awf'lly Jolly!' This punch line reinforces the fact that pastel was not nor ever could be considered a high art practice but rather was the preserve of daubing, middle-class women and pavement artists whose works were essentially ephemeral and worthless. The resonance of the characters from the illustrated cartoon was such that the joke, in written form, featured in extracts from comic papers which were serialised in the provincial press.[49] Its widespread appeal serves to underline the challenges that both male and female artists faced when attempting to change the public perception of pastel.

Yet, this did not deter some women artists who had started out as amateurs but were now making tentative moves into the professional art world. Thus, although Jopling's book was aimed at the amateur market, her instructions about how to use pastel required a solid knowledge of artistic technique or as she phrased it, 'to do it well, one must know how to *draw*. This is the chief difference between a good or a bad pastel,

[48] 'French Studios', *The British Architect*, (16 January 1880), pp.26-7.
[49] For example: 'Extracts from the Comic Papers', *The [Grantham] Journal*, (16 Aug 1890), p.7.

whether it is, or is not drawn well.'[50] It was more likely then, that she intended the book to be a reference manual, used in addition to formal training which she offered in her studio from 1887 until her death in 1933. She started organising classes because, as she stated in her 1925 memoir 'every girl should have a vocation, either artistic or otherwise, by which, if the necessity arose, she could earn her own bread and be independent.'[51] In this way, she encouraged her female students to follow art as a career rather than just a hobby. Pastel was ideally suited to aid in this transition because it was a medium with which women artists could experiment in the domestic setting but as their skill in handling improved, its technical versatility allowed them to make works that were much more intuitive and expressive. Thus, it could be argued that the increased number of female exhibitors to the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows, from 28 out of 125 in 1888 to 67 out of 217 in 1889 reflects the fact that more women eschewed amateur practice in order to seek out recognition in a professional setting.[52] However, many critics were quick to condemn this development suggesting that it led to a reduction in the overall standard of the exhibition. For example, a reporter from *The Leeds Mercury* said that the display offered, 'abundant evidence of the prevailing impression that success can be attained in pastel by the merest tyro, and without the least effort.'[53] It is difficult to gauge from these reviews the identity of such amateur artists as most critics simply ignored those works that they felt lacked technical accomplishment. Indeed, in a review for *The Magazine of Art*, the critic highlights the work of 24 of the participants for special mention, one of whom is Armstrong, a

[50] Jopling, 1900, p.54.
[51] Jopling-Rowe, 1925, p.266.
[52] See Appendices A and B.
[53] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor', *The Leeds Mercury*, (18 Oct 1889), p.8.

woman whose reputation as a professional artist was publicly recognised.[54] It is evident from my analysis of the exhibition data contained in the appendices, however, that in addition to Armstrong, Jopling, Osborn, Hilda Montalba (1846-1919) and Anna Nordgren (1847-1914) were also professional artists who regularly exhibited in the RA, the SBA and the Grosvenor Gallery summer exhibitions.[55] This reveals that the number of amateur female artists was actually relatively low. When this fact is viewed in relation to critics' comments, it evidences continuing prejudices against not only women artists but also pastel as an independent and serious art form.

Of course, the acceptance of more works by women artists or male artists who were using what was considered to be a "feminine" medium into the Grosvenor Gallery shows could also be seen as a careful ploy on the part of the organiser to appeal to female consumers. Certainly, several revisionist scholars keen to show that women were not inevitably limited by societal constructs of gender have shown that their position as household managers enabled them to purchase or commission art objects for the home. Dianne Sachko Macleod discusses this phenomenon in her book, *Art and the Victorian Middle Class*, 1996, in which she notes that from the mid-century, 'the traditional roles of man as collector and woman as interior designer were conflated at the moment when women finally achieved recognition as patrons in their own right.'[56] At the same time, Casteras has discussed the "matronage" phenomenon whereby women became significant purchasers of women's art work. Thus, in their

[54] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Magazine of Art*, (Nov 1889), pp.v-vi.
[55] The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts, [exh.cats.], 1878-1888; Royal Society of British Artists, AAD/1997/8/1/42; The Grosvenor Gallery. Summer exhibition. [exh.cats.] 1888-1890.
[56] Macleod, D. S., *Art and the Victorian Middle Class: Money and the making of cultural identity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p.289.

role as collectors, women helped to sustain the pastel movement by buying the works.[57] Certainly, it is noteworthy that in spite of the patchy availability of collector information for Guthrie's pastels, six women are listed as purchasers with four owning multiple works.[58]

Women may have been drawn to these works because they were often visually appealing, diminutive in size and much more affordable than paintings. Commercial enterprise was, however, quick to capitalise on this ready market. Indeed, an advertisement that appeared in the British press at this time reveals that pastels were also sold as decorative items for the home. The reader is asked to send in a photograph of her loved ones and a pastel portrait will be made of their likeness. The company even offers to make the work without charge on condition that the customer shows the piece to friends and family in the hope of gaining further commissions.[59] Such an enterprise shows the critical importance of women as disseminators of new art trends amongst the social networks they formed within the domestic setting. Contemporary critics of the pastel shows also appear to have recognised that some artists were attempting to appeal to female notions of taste and fashion. However, for the most part, this type of work was judged to be unartistic or purely decorative. For example, a journalist from *The Birmingham Daily Post* levelled this criticism at the French pastellist, J. L. Machard's, *Soap Bubbles*, which was displayed in the 1888 Grosvenor Gallery show when he stated that it is, 'too obviously open for purchase as an

[57] Casteras, S., 'From "Safe Havens" to "A Wide Sea of Notoriety", in *A Struggle for Fame: Victorian Women Artists and Authors*, [exh.cat.], (London: Yale Center for British Art, 1994), p.20.
[58] Caw, 1932, pp.233-5; See Appendix D.
[59] '£2 pastel portrait free', Advertisement for F.Carr and Co., 37 Warwick Street, Worthing, Sussex, printed in numerous papers including, *Leicester Daily Mercury*, (04 Sept 1890), p.2.

advertisement'.[60] The subject and treatment of this work clearly suggested its possible adaptation for the purposes of publicity. Such strategies made pastel works saleable in a challenging art market but further undermined the attempts of pastellists to establish their professional credentials.

The mark of professionalism then, was a totem used by all established and emerging artists whether male or female, to validate their own position and define what was distinctive about their art practice. The rhetoric of theorists like Ruskin and Blanc that cast women's work as inferior has been shown by Cherry to have forced women artists to prove the existence of strong professional standards amongst their number, often at the expense of the development of more daring or avant-garde techniques. She claims that this led to women's exclusion from contemporary discourses surrounding the development of modern artistic practice as 'the polarities of old/new, modern/antiquated were organised in terms of sexual difference as modernism's opposition to convention was built on a polarised opposition of the sexes.'[61] Thus, it could be argued that the female artists who participated in the pastel shows were not producing works that were stylistically or technically innovative given that pastel already had a reputation as a feminine medium, suited to feminine subject matter. Rather, they were content to demonstrate how their technical prowess with the medium meant that their work could hold its own within the context of a professional exhibition. Yet, it is equally possible that the strategies employed by women artists to achieve this aim could be viewed as part of a process that challenged existing preconceptions and presented new possibilities for making and viewing their work.

[60] 'London Correspondence', *The Birmingham Daily Post*, (22 Oct 1888), p.5.
[61] Cherry, 1993, p.75.

Of course the formation of a professional identity was not only essential for gaining a level of parity between male and female artists but also helped to distinguish female artists from those practising art on an amateur or commercial basis. Essential to this process was a rigorous knowledge of technique gained through formal training. This was an area in which women had made enormous strides from the mid-century when Jopling suggested that she 'knew of no girl much less a married woman, who had studied Art.'[62] Women were able to attend classes in British art institutions and foreign ateliers. In order to receive further guidance on their stylistic development and secure their status as professionals, some women sought out mentors in the form of established male artists. Thus, Jopling gained some encouragement from Millais whilst Armstrong became an acolyte of Whistler. Despite these two notable examples, Cherry has described how for the most part women acquired their artistic training on a piecemeal basis as they struggled to organise their studies around their domestic roles.[63] Whilst this undoubtedly represented a significant barrier to women's professional advancement, it should be noted that of the 28 female exhibitors who contributed to the 1888 exhibition, seventeen had distinguished themselves as talented artists in their own right.[64] The artistic reputations of many of the female exhibitors were recognised by a reviewer for *The Blackburn Standard* who stated that, 'in the little cream-coloured catalogue…I read the names of some distinguished painters as contributors to this novel exhibition, and there are many ladies in the list.'[65] It is possible to suggest that the inclusion of so many high status female artists was

[62] Jopling-Rowe, 1925, p.5.
[63] Cherry, D., *Women Painting: Victorian Women Artists*, (London: Routledge, 1993), p.54.
[64] See Appendix A.
[65] 'Our Ladies' Column by One of themselves', *The Blackburn Standard*, (03 Nov 1888), p.6.

designed to dispel accusations of amateurism. However, the somewhat insipid comments on their works suggest that a few critics still tended to discount the efforts of women artists with pastel. Indeed, one reviewer said of Armstrong's work that 'the quiet power that won admirers under her maiden name is evident as of yore "Poa Ned" [sic] "Hide and Seek" [fig.37] is neither so impulsive as the lately-shown "Three Blind Mice."'[66]

Such responses served to marginalise women's artworks as merely polite or decorative. Yet, it is important to recognise that these opinions were often borne of the difficulties in establishing the exact professional status of particular female artists. Indeed, Hadjiafxendi and Zakreski have shown that many women who were recognised as having Fine Art expertise also forged profitable careers in more minor artistic fields such as book illustration, engraved reproductions or tinting plates.[67] For example, Armstrong applied her skills as an engraver and watercolourist to book illustration at a later stage in her career. She made a series of eight illustrations to accompany O. Smeaton, (ed.), *The Golden Poets: Poems of Herrick*, and a further 28 illustrations for her own children's book, *King Arthur's Wood*.[68] Equally, Jopling noted that being able to earn an independent income from one's ability as an artist was a mark of professionalism and at times for her it had verged on necessity.[69] Pastels, too, had the potential to be lucrative because they were relatively quick to produce and

[66] Correct title of the work is *Poor Ned*. 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery,' *Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1889), p.8.
[67] Hadjiafxendi and Zakreski, 2013, p.7.
[68] Beeching, H. C. *The Golden Poets: Poems of Herrick*, (Claxton, [n.d.]); Forbes, E. Stanhope, *King Arthur's Wood*, (London: Simkpin, Hamilton, Kent & Co., 1904). For a full list of her book illustrations see, Cook, [et al.] 2000, pp.173-6.
[69] Jopling-Rowe, 1925, p.26.

could be sold for modest sums to a ready market of middle-class collectors. This helps to contextualise Stanhope Forbes's tendency to measure Armstrong's success with pastel in terms of her sales.[70] However, Casteras has shown that this preoccupation with profitable but minor art forms became for some women artists their sole focus, to the neglect of oil painting which was considered the highest form of artistic achievement.[71] Evidence of this phenomenon is provided by the relatively high percentage of women who contributed to the 1889 pastel show. However, when examining the list of female contributors to the Grosvenor Gallery show against the records of the SBA exhibition of 1886, it reveals that this is somewhat of a sweeping generalisation. Indeed, 94 women exhibited in the SBA with 65 submitting oil paintings whilst 29 sent watercolours or pastels.[72] Of this number seventeen would also send works to the Grosvenor Gallery shows. These figures demonstrate not only that the diversity of women's creative practice increased the potential for exhibition and sales but also that their involvement with lesser media, such as pastel, cast doubt on the status of women pastellists and their chosen art form.

The issue of critical recognition for the work of female artists was so prevalent that some felt compelled to instigate campaigns and initiatives aimed at improving the situation. Thus, Osborn and Jopling were both instrumental in contributing towards the Society of Female Artists that was set up in 1857 in order to give women the institutional camaraderie, dedicated exhibition space and mark of professionalism that

[70] See chapter three and five.
[71] Casteras, 1994, p.11.
[72] Royal Society of British Artists, [exh.cat.] 1888, Blythe House, V&A Archive, acc.no.AAD/1997/8/1/42.

were denied to them by many of the other London art societies.[73] It has also been noted by Cherry that such attempts to enhance the position of women in the art world frequently culminated in political activism. For example, she has identified Armstrong, Jopling and Osborn as signatories of public petitions calling for women's suffrage.[74] Despite such a proactive stance, the adoption of pastel with its connotations of femininity and amateurism, might indicate that these pioneering women artists were taking a retrograde step professionally. However, it is more likely that this was part of their strategy of material diversity which was aimed at allowing them to make subtle incursions into a variety of art institutions. As a result of the growing presence of female artists in contemporary art exhibitions and their increasingly overt demands for critical equality, perceptions about their status as artists gradually began to change.

Despite their avowed aim of negotiating a revised position for themselves, both as artists and as modern women, existing gender divisions were often perpetuated by limiting their choice of subject matter to carefully prescribed themes, such as children, friends and pets. Pollock has demonstrated how this factor defined the oeuvre of Mary Cassatt (1844-1926), despite the artist being Degas's pupil and showing works throughout the 1870s and 1880s in some of the most avant-garde exhibitions in Paris.[75] Furthermore, in her essay, 'Modernity and the spaces of femininity', Pollock has explained that French female artists' images of women were made from within a sanctioned space for women as opposed to male artists who could view women from their privileged position in both public and private space.[76] Her argument finds

[73] Gerrish Nunn, 1987, p.79.
[74] Cherry, 2000, p.144.
[75] Pollock, G., *Mary Cassatt*, (London: Jupiter Books, 1980), p.7.
[76] Pollock, 1988, p.68.

relevance in the British pastel movement as an analysis based on titles alone reveals that of the 28 female exhibitors to the 1888 Grosvenor Gallery show twenty submitted at least one genre scene or portrait.[77]

Yet, merely to group these works together on the basis of subject matter in order to prove that women artists were fundamentally disadvantaged by their sex when it came to modern stylistic development, is to ignore how they chose to reinvent the feminine image through their innovative use of materials and techniques. Thus, in a way analogous to the pastel medium itself, women could transform a traditional art form by approaching it in a new way. From this perspective, Armstrong's works must be reconsidered with regard to their technical accomplishment. Certainly, this is the approach taken by her recent monographers who have included an unreferenced quote by Tom Cross, former head of Falmouth College of Art, who has apparently said that, 'although much of her work is small in scale and less dramatic in subject, her skill is no less evident.'[78] Indeed, despite describing a clichéd genre scene, Armstrong's *"The Maids were in the Garden Hanging out the Clothes"*, 1888 [fig.73] represents a daring use of colour and light. Her arrangement is striking as she squeezes her figures into the top right corner allowing nearly two thirds of the composition to be given over to a vivid area of yellow earth. The pervading sense of bright sunlight is amplified by her use of strong contrasts between the white highlights on the women's dresses and dark brown shadows cast by the foliage in the background. Elements of the ordinary and the audacious were recognised in this work by one reviewer who stated that, 'Armstrong, also belongs to two schools. In sentiment she is thoroughly English but

[77] See Appendix A.
[78] Tom Cross, quoted in Cook, [et al.], 2000, pp. 82-3.

in her treatment of colour she is ultra-French.'[79] Armstrong's expertise was also recognised when her pastel, *Oranges and Lemons*, 1889 was exhibited in the Society of British Pastellists' show in 1890, where it attracted praise as 'certainly one of the best drawings in the collection.'[80] These reviews are testimony to the fact that despite initially appearing to be predictable feminine images of children, Armstrong's pastels were recognised as being technically inventive. It may have been this factor that led Gruetzner-Robins to analyse Armstrong's *Oranges and Lemons* in relation to Degas's avant-garde approach to composition and technique discussed in chapter two.[81] Despite my doubts as to whether or not Armstrong was directly referencing Degas in her work, Gruetzner-Robins's recent reappraisal evidences scholars' attempts to move beyond the limits defined by Pollock on what women were capable of producing artistically. If current scholars are being forced to reset the boundaries, then it is conceivable that this was also happening in a contemporary context. Thus, it possible to suggest that Armstrong's innovative handling of pastel enabled her to transcend the prejudices that beset both her medium and her subject and create artwork that was viewed as the critical equivalent of her male contemporaries.

Jopling too, received press recognition for her portraits which presented an uncompromising image of confident modern women. For example, she submitted two pastels to the 1890 show, one of which was a self-portrait and the other was a portrait of Miss Mabel Collins who was a prominent writer on theosophy and the occult.[82] The

[79] 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' *The Illustrated London News*, (27 Oct 1888), p.504.
[80] 'The Society of British Pastellists', *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, (1 Nov 1890), p.657.
[81] Robins, 2005, p.74.
[82] Collins's writing includes, *Light on the Path*, (London: George Redway, 1885); *Through the Golden Gates*, (London: George Redway, 1887) and *Idyll of the White Lotus*, (London, 1890).

latter work has been lost but the former has recently been traced by Patricia de Montfort to the Jopling family archive. Her style of portraiture is evident from photographic reproductions of the two works [figs.74 and 75]. Both images employ a confident frontal stance with clothing used to suggest something of the personality of the sitter. Thus, Collins's professional interests are hinted at by her depiction in a black hat and high-collared dress that frame her delicate features. In her recent biography of Louise Jopling (2016), de Montfort draws attention to the prominence of her brush and palette within Jopling's pastel self-portrait as clear markers of her profession.[83] Jopling's bold use of colour was much appreciated by the critic who commended 'a splendid portrait by Mrs. Louise Jopling of herself in a red dress, relieved radiantly yet harmoniously against a primrose background.'[84] The clarity and luminosity of the pure pastel tones lent a vibrancy to this piece which was not evident in her self-portraits in oil paint from the late 1870s. Furthermore, her skill as a pastellist is evident in her use of dramatic shifts in handling between smooth and subtle rendering of the facial features to areas of sharp linear contours and deep shading in the clothing. The significance of this work in particular was recognised by a critic for the women's magazine, *The Queen* who stated,

> 'Mrs Louise Jopling, who has long made pastel drawing a special study, takes a prominent position as an exhibitor with her own likeness, "Portrait of the Artist" in which she pictures herself standing, palette and brushes in hand, before her easel…the likeness is undeniably good, and she has that look of vivacious intelligence which is her distinguishing characteristic.'[85]

[83] De Montfort, P., *Louise Jopling: a biographical and cultural study of the modern woman artist in Victorian Britain*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2016), p.68.
[84] 'The Pastel Exhibition', *The Morning Post*, (18 Oct 1890), p.5.
[85] 'The Society of British Pastellists', *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, (1 Nov 1890), p.657.

This comment reveals that beyond demonstrating her virtuosity as an artist and her mastery of the creative possibilities of pastel, Jopling's statement piece was emblematic of modern feminine identity.

Jopling's two distinctive pastel portraits featured in the second largest room of the five galleries at the Grosvenor, flanked by male artists' landscape studies. The display policy here differed markedly from the traditional precepts which informed the hanging arrangements of mixed-media submissions to the RA. This venue ranked exhibits according to the artist's choice of medium, with pastel and watercolour frequently relegated to the minor galleries. Thus, whilst the number of female contributors to the RA rose from 48 in 1860 to 103 in 1879, their preference for lesser media meant that they were denied the professional kudos which derived from a well-situated oil painting.[86] Some women artists were notable exceptions to this rule. Thus, my own research has shown that several key female exhibitors from the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibitions including Jopling, Osborn and the Montalba sisters, (Eleanor, Henrietta and Clara), exhibited works in oil at the RA.[87]

This institution's rigid focus on media resulted in tacit gender discrimination. Elsewhere, such prejudice was made explicit by artistic bodies founded to promote other specific media such as watercolour, which had wide popular appeal for women. Indeed, a critic from *The Queen* magazine noted that the Royal Society of Painters in Water-Colour debarred women from receiving the professional benefits of full

[86] Gerrish Nunn, 1987, pp.113 and 202.
[87] *The Exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts,* [exh.cats.], 1875-1890.

membership.[88] Cherry has explained that this meant women were unable to share in the profits raised from the admission fee to the annual exhibition.[89] Such a policy denied female artists both the financial rewards and professional status that came from belonging to a dedicated artistic society. However, this did not deter women from sending their works to this organisation and again it is noteworthy that several of the most pre-eminent female artists from the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows also exhibited there. This amply demonstrates that given the opportunity to exhibit their work in a well-regarded and competitive setting, some female artists were able to set themselves apart and build considerable personal reputations. Indeed, Casteras has made clear that as exhibitions were part of the public realm, female artists needed to develop the requisite business acumen to survive in that world.[90] This may account for the hesitation shown by established women artists towards institutions like The Society of Female Artists, whose annual exhibition admitted a mix of amateur and professional work. It was felt that such a remit merely served to underline the perception of inferiority associated with women's art. It is telling therefore, that Armstrong exhibited here for the first and only time in 1894.[91]

The challenges that women faced in having their work viewed in a sympathetic forum makes it all the more important to consider where and for what reason they chose to exhibit their pastels. It is revealing that despite the growing number of female exhibitors at the RA who worked in a variety of different media, none of them is

[88] 'Disabilities of Lady Artists', *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, (12 Oct 1890), p.515.
[89] Cherry, 1993, p.66.
[90] Casteras, 1994, p.14.
[91] Elizabeth Stanhope Forbes, *A Game of Old Maid*, 1894, [cat.no.259], in de Laperrière, C. B., *The Society of Women Artists Exhibitors 1855-1996*, vol.2, (Wiltshire: Hilmarton Manor Press, 1996), p.56.

recorded as sending pastels or chalk drawings to this institution. The SBA would have offered a viable alternative venue for their pastels, as women artists regularly sent work to its annual show. However, its institutional similarity to the RA meant that it adopted the same hierarchical arrangement of media in its exhibitions. As explained in chapter three, this situation only began to change when Whistler joined the society and quickly became its President. His sweeping exhibition reforms led to improved circumstances for both female exhibitors and works in pastel. Although the total number of works in the exhibition declined under his presidency, the percentage of works by women rose from 9% in 1885 to over 15% in 1888.[92] Significantly, it was also during this time that Armstrong chose to be represented by her work in pastel including two child studies entitled *Hatching Mischief* (untraced) and *Cuckoo*, 1887 [fig.76]. The latter picture sees the artist employ an unusual viewpoint which suggests that the young girl is glimpsed from below. Armstrong has cleverly framed the child between two saplings but by allowing her to hold onto a single branch she is connected to the landscape and absorbed into the setting. Her decision to submit these pastel works suggests that Whistler's more progressive approach helped to alleviate some of the burden of reputation on professional women artists and enabled them to display their efforts in a medium usually associated with amateurs.

The connection between the development of new types of exhibition and the number of female artists choosing to be represented by pastel also extends to the NEAC. Even though the broad-minded principles on which the Club were founded were not reflected in the diversity of the membership, several women artists chose to exhibit in

[92] Society of British Artists, cat.nos. 7 and 8, 1882-1886; 1886-1889, V&A Archive, Blythe House, London, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/42.

the annual exhibitions. Thus, whilst only Armstrong, Bertha Newcombe (1857-1947) and Annie Ayrton (c.1850-1920) were listed as members between 1888 when the membership was formalised and 1890, 22 women exhibited in the shows from the same period including Stokes, Nordgren and Henriette Corkran (1841-1911).[93] Indeed, the cosmopolitan mix of exhibitors was commented upon by a reviewer to the 1890 show, who stated that 'the New English Art Club are worshippers at the shrine of the dreamy and ideal. The women are aesthetic and the men are rather of the "greenery yallery" stamp.'[94] Crucially for this study, this was also the time when the Club began to accept works in pastel and display them alongside oil paintings. Armstrong was among the first to take advantage of this development when she exhibited her now lost pastel, *Three Blind Mice*, in the 1889 show. It was one of seven pastels exhibited that year, of which two were the work of female artists.[95] The reviews for these pieces were cautious with one describing Armstrong's pastel as 'a very clever study in pastel of the effect of the light of a green shaded lamp.'[96] The apparently positive connotations of 'clever' to mean adroit and skilful were not always intended by critics. A question of interpretation arises when the term may be applied in a derogatory sense as a veiled reference to over-ambitious or contrived works. Thus, the same critic uses the same word to comment on Guthrie's, *The Ropewalk*, 1888 [fig.43], which he describes as 'rather clever than interesting.'[97] For both women and men, it seems that the main focus of the reviewers' criticism is the use of the pastel

[93] Women accounted for 13% of the exhibitors between 1888 and 1890. New English Art Club past members, MS, Tate Britain, London, acc.no. TGA20067/3/1-; NEAC Exhibition Catalogues 1888-1890, Tate Britain, London, acc.no. TGA20067/5/2.
[94] 'Latest London News', *Aberdeen Journal*, (29 March 1890), p.5.
[95] Elizabeth Armstrong, cat.no.6 and Annie Ayrton, cat.no.85, NEAC exhibition catalogue 1889, Tate Archive, acc.no. TGA20067/5/2, pp.10 and 16.
[96] 'The New English Art Club', *The Literary World*, (19 April 1889).
[97] *Ibid.*

medium to subvert existing artistic hierarchies and not the gender of the individual artists.

It would be an overstatement, however, to say that women were afforded complete artistic equality in the newer exhibiting societies. Indeed, Cherry has pointed out that their work was still largely overshadowed because places like the NEAC were 'founded on already existing patterns of managing sexual difference.'[98] In particular, she has drawn attention to the disproportionate ratio of male and female exhibitors and the woefully low number of women elected as members. She reasons that this inequity is the result of the challenges faced by female artists in creating and maintaining their professional identities. Thus, whilst women could make great strides in the public sphere, if they wanted to marry or have a family they would inevitably be drawn back into the domestic sphere. Indeed, artist Louisa Starr (1845-1909), who was notably the first female artist to win a gold medal for history painting at the RA lamented that 'we women are heavily handicapped in Art, as in all else, by the fact of our womanhood and its duties, and I hold that when a woman has a profession, it means in most cases that she has two professions.'[99] In addition to this practical burden, if a woman took her husband's name she stood to lose the reputation she had formed under her maiden name. This has had significant ramifications for the process of analysing the pastel exhibition catalogues especially in instances where the identity of a married woman is entirely subsumed by the adoption of her husband's full name, altered only by her civil status.[100] Certainly, I have found it impossible to identify Mrs Walter

[98] Cherry, 1993, p.74.
[99] Starr, Louisa, 'The Spirit of Purity in Art' in Gordon, Ishbel, *Transactions of the International Council of Women*, (London, 1900), p.86.
[100] See Appendices A-C.

Creyke who contributed in 1888 or Mrs Theodore Bowens and Mrs Morton Strode Jackson who contributed in 1889 for this reason. Others like Armstrong who married Stanhope Forbes, still retained their Christian name but changed their surname. Payne has described how Armstrong coped with this change by editing her monogram to accommodate her new initial whilst still retaining the distinctive features that identified it as her mark.[101] This development in her personal life did, however, have a significant effect on how her artworks were received. For example, a critic for *The Magazine of Art* noted in a rather tongue-in-cheek way that '"Hide and Seek" by Mrs Stanhope Forbes is rich in the instinctive art which used to distinguish Miss Elizabeth Armstrong.'[102] However, some were more overt in their attempts to undermine her artistic achievements and foreground her new role as Stanhope Forbes's wife. Thus, even in a biographical article intended to document her oeuvre, the writer observes that, 'it would serve no purpose here to give a list of the paintings and etchings which won Miss Armstrong fame, and added honour to Mrs Stanhope Forbes; although a most pleasant account might be written of her charming house'.[103]

This is not to suggest that Armstrong's career was curtailed by her marriage to Forbes. Indeed, their relationship continued to be marked by mutual support when she moved from London to live with him in Newlyn. As previously alluded to, Forbes's letters to his wife reveal that they both acted as agents for one another when visiting the capital for the exhibition season. For example, in one letter he tells her that he has had a visit from the art dealer David Croal Thomson who had told Forbes that he 'liked your

[101] Cook, [et al.], 2000, p.22.
[102] 'Art in November – Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Magazine of Art*, (Jan 1890), p.vi.
[103] E.B.S., 1901, p.192.

pastel. Thought the price 25£ [sic] was too low' after which Forbes tells her 'I think I shall ask thirty now.'[104] Similarly, he asks her to visit his colourman to pick up supplies of 'Cobalt blue – Raw Sienna – Yellow Ochre – pale cadmium – lemon yellow.'[105] Their exchanges evidence the fact that some women artists at least benefitted from forging fruitful working relationships. Indeed, the Grosvenor Gallery itself had only been founded as a result of the well-matched union between Sir Coutts and Lady Lindsay. Together, they helped to reshape exhibition culture by visually presenting the link between the growth of women in the artistic sphere and the development of modern styles. Blanche Lindsay played an important role in making this mission a success as she was herself a prolific artist whose familial wealth helped to fund the innovations that were featured at the Grosvenor Gallery. Newall opines that it was Blanche's influence that, 'led to the establishment of the general principle that a good proportion of women should be invited to send to the gallery.'[106] Female artists continued to hold a central place in the gallery's shows even after the couple separated in 1882. Certainly, an average of 16.3% of the contributors to the summer exhibitions of paintings which immediately preceded each of the pastel shows were women.[107]

[104] Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Forbes, 28th March [n.d.], Stanhope Forbes Archive, Tate Britain, acc.no. 9015.2.2.31.
[105] Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Forbes, [n.d.], Tate Britain, acc.no. 9015.2.2.4; Possibly Charles Roberson & Co. Sally Woodcock is creating a database of female account holders at the firm 1851-1918. We met on 7 Dec 2015 at the British Art Network Seminar, *Overlooked Women Artists and Designers*, 1851-1918 where she was able to locate in her unpublished notes that Elizabeth Forbes had an account.
[106] Newall, 1995, p.23.
[107] 14.9% in 1888; 14.8% in 1889 and 19.3% in 1890; Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition. [exh.cat.], 1888-1890.

It is interesting to note that many of those women artists who had made such sustained progress throughout the 1880s, should now adopt pastel because it was deemed to be both modern and potentially innovative. Their stance was matched by the enlightened exhibition policy of the Grosvenor Gallery. Thus, pastels by women accounted for 18.8% of the 1888 show rising to 28.4% in 1890.[108] These figures suggest not only that pastel was popular amongst female artists but also that they were more likely to have pastels exhibited than paintings.[109] Although this might indicate that amateur artists would use this as an opportunity to gain entry to a prestigious exhibition space for the first time, my analysis has shown that for the most part female pastellists were professional artists who had accrued some level of personal recognition for their work through public exhibition. Indeed, of the 28 women who exhibited in 1888 only four have proved to be either untraceable or shown to have little or no exhibiting experience.[110] The presence of so many established women artists in this show appears to have had the effect of curtailing critical dismissal of their work as the daubing of amateurs. For example, a critic from *The Queen* magazine estimated, 'Mrs Louise Jopling also here stamps with her talent a little flower study [and] Louise Abbema is represented by a powerfully drawn and effective whole length figure of "Michael Battenfield, the fencing master."'[111]

Where comments about technical weakness did persist it was usually in relation to the novelty of the medium in Britain and its suitability as an independent art form. Thus,

[108] See Appendices A-C.
[109] Between 1888 and 1890, 13% of the exhibitors at NEAC and 16.3% at GG summer exhibition were female compared with an average of 23% at GG pastel shows.
[110] Mrs Walter Creyke untraceable; Mrs M. H. Earnshaw, Mrs W. E. Hine and R. H. Greatorex little prior exhibiting experience. See Appendix A.
[111] 'Pastel Drawings at the Grosvenor,' *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, (27 Oct 1888), p.535.

concerns were expressed by the critic from *The Western Times* who held that, 'there is a sort of softness and delicacy in such productions, however, which suggests want of durability and power.'[112] In 1889 when the number of female contributors grew to 67, the number of those who were relatively unknown rose to fifteen.[113] Significantly this was also the year when the tenor of the reviews changed and accusations of amateurism, inferior quality of the works and doubts about the capacity of the medium for serious work were most prevalent. These are summed up in the words of one reviewer who noted with disdain that, 'there is a modicum of first-rate work, a quantity of distinctly worthy attempts but not a little that is unworthy of its place on the walls of the Grosvenor Gallery.'[114] Even those female artists with a professional reputation did not escape the critics' consternation with one opining that, 'Jopling can produce works of two distinct types. We can call to mind some really good efforts but "A Michaelmas Daisy," is merely pretty conventional work that may or may not suit the purpose of a chromolithographer.'[115] This might lead to the conclusion that biases against female artists prevented their work from being taken seriously. Yet, it seems more likely that the exhibition policy which saw the total number of exhibits rise by 65% heightened awareness of quantity over quality with critical comments being directed at both male and female exhibitors. The fact that in the following year four women artists became founder members of the Society of British Pastellists is testament to their assured position at the heart of this pioneering initiative which aimed to transform both the status of the medium and the artists involved.[116]

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[112] Penelope, 'Our Ladies' Column', *The Western Times*, (6 Nov 1888), p.6.
[113] Appendix B.
[114] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (15 Oct 1889), p.8.
[115] Pranger, W., 'The Grosvenor Gallery,' *The Musical World*, (19 Oct 1889), p.730.
[116] Elizabeth Armstrong, Louise Jopling, Clara Montalba (1842-1929) and Florence Small (1860-1933) were founder members of the Society of British Pastellists, 1890. See fig.66.

Male Artists and their use of pastel

As has been shown, traditional gender constructs were increasingly being tested during this period. Femininity as a byword for passivity, weakness and inferiority was challenged by female artists' proactive involvement in the construction of their own professional identities through improved education and exhibiting opportunities. At the same time as ideas about femininity were beginning to evolve so, too, were those based around masculinity. This is a fact largely ignored in feminist scholarship which views the masculine as a constant that perpetuated male dominance over women. However, the growth of male studies has sought to redress this imbalance by showing that male artists often had an equally complex relationship with existing gender paradigms. So, for example, Danahay has argued that masculinity was used by established male artists and those who were at the beginning of their careers to validate their own position by undermining each other.[117] Thus, traditionalists argued that young artists' adoption of media and subject matter deemed to be feminine threatened the prevailing balance of power. By contrast, many of the artists so criticised, presented themselves through their art and rhetoric as the young bucks challenging their elders for greater rights and status. Whilst both these strategies depended on archetypes of masculinity, other artists rejected these tropes entirely and formed new male identities. Indeed, David Carrier has shown that it was not just 'new women' who were making the headlines, there were also 'new men' or 'Aesthetes' who embraced interests that were normally ascribed to women such as fashion and decoration.[118] These ever-shifting notions about the masculine are particularly

[117] Danahay, 2005, p.153.
[118] Carrier, D., *England and its Aesthetes: biography and taste*, (London: Routledge, 1997), p.2.

pertinent to the pastel movement because the gendered rhetoric surrounding the medium affected the way it was used and displayed by male artists.

Traditional critics like Blanc and Ruskin who posited that pastel was feminine supported their argument not only by highlighting the qualities that they believed pertained to that gender but also by juxtaposing it to their ideas about masculinity. Thus, Blanc's assertion that colour was concerned with the feminine attributes of emotion and irrationality was contrasted with drawing which he believed represented the masculine characteristics of control and rationalism.[119] The definite and necessarily prescriptive division drawn between aspects of art along gender lines left Blanc open to opposition. Some male artists deliberately subverted his hypothesis to support their own use of a feminine medium for techniques and subject matter that were seen as exclusively masculine. So for example, the stippling technique discussed in chapter one whereby the pastel sticks were sharpened into a point and used to create very fine hatching enabled artists to make a statement about their technical expertise, precision and finesse. Ruskin believed the capacity for skilful exactitude was an essential characteristic that separated the rational male mind from the overly emotional female mind. The artist's opinion is neatly summarised in his letter to the artist Anna Blunden (1830-1915), when he states that 'as far as I know lady painters always let their feelings run away with them and get to painting angels and mourners when they should be painting brickbats and stones.'[120] Yet, by the late 1870s and early 1880s, the highly detailed and clinically observed artwork endorsed by Ruskin as an example

[119] Blanc, C., trans., Kate Doggett Newall, 1874, pp.70 and 146.
[120] Ruskin to Anna Blunden, c.1857, quoted in Surtees, V., *Sublime and Instructive. Letters from John Ruskin to Louisa, Marchioness of Waterford, Anna Blunden and Ellen Heaton*, (London: Michael Joseph, 1972), p.90.

of conservative masculine values was rejected by a generation of younger painters because it stifled their creativity and gave their work a mechanistic appearance. In order to engage with a revised aesthetic sensibility, male artists sought to embrace both masculine line and feminine expressivity. This shift in emphasis was noted by Hamerton who stated that, 'we have witnessed a gradual change in the Anglo-Saxon spirit which is leading it not only towards beauty, but towards a new kind of reasoning about the fitness of things dictated by aesthetic considerations.'[121] He was referring to the development of several different artistic styles which depended on subjectivity rather than objectivity and an intuitive synergy between artist, subject and mode of expression. In this context, strict control over one's medium was no longer the marker of male artistic genius. Now, it was based on the ability to approach the process of art-making with a certain level of bravura and dynamism.

The evolution of Clausen's drawing style neatly illustrates the impact of these new ideas on young artists' creative practice. He began by imitating the careful stippling techniques taught at the South Kensington School but always retained the habit of creating informal sketches that were crude but expressive notes of his observations. These sketches can be considered as the remnants of close observations between Clausen and his subject and as such they have an intimate immediacy about them. Sketching was not just a convenient means of making an *aide-mémoire,* it was also a technique that enabled the artist to work directly, unhindered by issues pertaining to finish. Corbett has explained that the use of sketchy or loose handling in painting from this period allowed artists to explore both the 'Impressionist attention to surface' and

[121] Hamerton, 1882, p.17.

the 'hidden or indeterminate but significant meaning characteristic of Symbolism.'[122] In the same way it could be argued that Clausen's broad, coarsely drawn hatching, sweeping contours and unadulterated shades in his pastel studies of sunrises [figs.28 and 29] or the figure from *The Mowers*, 1891 [fig.39] effectively capture fleeting effects of light and shade or physical movement. This holds significance for perceptions about masculinity because as Tim Barringer has surmised, male artists felt compelled to show that real art involved some kind of labour.[123] As artists moved away from large-scale, finely finished pictures that represented hours of intense working and reworking, they sought to demonstrate their effort by drawing attention to the tools of their trade. In other words, Clausen's *Mower* wields his scythe and Clausen wields the pastel stick. However, the status of these works as private sketches could also be seen as evidence of Clausen's traditionalism because the extent of his creative process would not be apparent to someone viewing the final painting. Yet, it is significant to note that as Clausen's style matured he allowed some of his private sketching techniques to infiltrate his finished works in pastel. For example, in, *Feeding the Sheep*, 1884 [fig.9] he uses a single horizontal band of blue pastel applied side-on to suggest the weak dawn sunlight. The paper is still visible beneath. Areas of loose handling in the background are contrasted with the more carefully realised figures in the foreground lending the piece a sense of vitality.

In addition to their technical repertoire, young male artists had at their disposal a range of options for new types of subject matter with which to counter the gendered

[122] Corbett, 2004, p.176.
[123] Barringer, T., *Men at Work: Art and Labour in Mid-Victorian Britain*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p.15.

associations surrounding pastel. As previously mentioned, the medium had been defined as feminine because it was felt to dovetail with feminine subject matter including pretty portraits and images of young children. Typically, these subjects were perceived as feminine because they were concerned with aspects of motherhood, charm, beauty and innocence. At the opposite end of the spectrum were located typically masculine subjects such as military conquests, historical scenes and the female nude. Indeed, in an anonymous article from the *English Women's Review*, (1857) the gendered division of subject matter was made explicit when it was stated that, 'in the more heroic and epic works of art the hand of man is best fitted to excel; nevertheless there remain gentle scenes of home interest and domestic care, delineation of refined feeling and subtle touches of tender emotion, with which the woman artist is eminently entitled to deal.'[124] The maintenance of such obvious gender distinctions might seem to recommend the use of pastel for those subjects that were almost exclusively the reserve of male artists. However, with reference to young artists' rejection of established artistic hierarchies that valued certain media and techniques more than others, it is evident from a close inspection of the pastel exhibition catalogues that few were willing to conform to traditional stratifications of subject matter. Indeed, in the 1888 show only one work has been identified as a military scene whilst two depicted a historical theme.[125] The only High Art genre to find resonance with contemporary pastel artists was the nude but even these works were not in keeping with classical conventions. Indeed, a critic from *The Western Times* stated in relation to the 1888 show that 'it is a remarkable collection of artistic fireworks, and there is a remarkable proportion of women who, in the hasty process of the pastel, have omitted

[124] *English Women's Review*, (18 April 1857), p.1.
[125] See Appendix A, cat.nos. 33, 61 and 73.

to dress themselves.'[126] This sardonic comment references not only the relatively large number of female contributors but also the implication that the women who form the subject matter of these works were naked as opposed to nude. Thus, in terms of negating the feminine connotations surrounding pastel, it is possible to deduce that this was rarely achieved by attempting to apply it to existing notions of masculine artistic practice. Instead, the parameters of masculinity were being redrawn by male artists pursuing a modern aesthetic.

The link between masculinity and modernity has been discussed by Tickner who suggests that in the final decades of the nineteenth century, 'artistic masculinity – at least in some quarters – was also in crisis, and new kinds of harsh, procreative, and virile masculinities were appropriated.'[127] What is being suggested is that young artists chose to adopt unconventional techniques to describe new subject matter that still espoused the masculine qualities of strength, self-assurance and individuality. So for example, images of labourers replaced those of Classical gods or military leaders as contemporary heroes. Certainly, Clausen's pastels were almost exclusively focused on agricultural labourers whilst Guthrie included several pastels of rural workers in his 1888 Stirlingshire series before moving on to examples of urban labour in his 1890 Helensburgh series. The personal toil and hardship faced by these people together with the unsavoury actualities of their lives would seem to represent the antithesis of the genteel and sanitised subject matter deemed appropriate for female artists. Male artists were also able to access working-class models more readily than women artists which helped to mark these works out as distinctly masculine in content. Indeed, it is

[126] 'Our Weekly Letter', *The Western Times*, (03 Nov 1888), p.2.
[127] Tickner, 1994, p.47.

highly unlikely that Guthrie's pastel of a *Navvy* [fig.35] could have been made by a female artist who would have been unwilling or unable to approach such a person. In addition, certain subjects drawn from contemporary life were almost exclusively the reserve of male artists. My chosen male case studies tended to select subjects from their social circle which were equally accessible to female artists but some of their peers did use pastel to capture scenes of bars or places of entertainment. Indeed, Sidney Starr's pastel *At The Café Royal*, 1888 [fig.77] is a daring depiction of patrons enjoying an evening at this notorious Bohemian venue in the heart of London's theatre district on Regent Street. [128] The soft focus and careful arrangement of the subjects preserve their anonymity save for the female figure to the right who appears to be exchanging furtive glances with the man in the middle with his back to the artist. Such a clandestine interaction calls into question the reputation of the woman and casts doubt on the suitability of the venue for respectable women artists. Thus, by creating new categories of masculine art, young artists were able to challenge traditional artistic hierarchies whilst avoiding accusations of effeminacy for their choice of medium.

For some artists this innovative impulse was not confined to revised definitions of the masculine. Rather, these Aesthetes sought to undermine gendered conventions entirely, by blurring the distinctions between masculinity and femininity. Such an individual has been described by Carrier as someone 'who sees the world in visual terms usually associated with viewing art, giving special value to the visual world for its own sake; and who brings this way of thinking to experience outside of art.'[129] It

[128] Deghy, G. and Waterhouse, K., *Café Royal, 90 Years of Bohemia*, (London: Hutchison, 1956); Starr exhibited this work at the Grosvenor Gallery pastel show 1888, cat.no.159, See Appendix A.
[129] Carrier, 1997, p.6.

has been argued by Michael Kimmel that this obsession with beauty, self and materiality had resulted from what he refers to as the 'crisis of masculinity' that occurred in the final decades of the nineteenth century. This was caused by a shift in the balance of power away from the patriarchal institutions of marriage and family.[130] Included among these societal changes were many of the measures that had empowered women such as greater access to education as well as new legislation which afforded them some semblance of financial independence.[131] The resulting instability created a void within which new understandings about what it meant to be masculine were formulated. For male artists, this could mean anything from being more in touch with their emotions, to living a bohemian existence or adopting feminine pastimes such as fashion or household decoration. These new ideas were translated into visual form by artists who, in the words of Walter Pater, were attuned to 'that true pictorial charm which is neither a mere poetical thought or sentiment, on the one hand, nor a mere result of communicable technical skill in colour or design, on the other'.[132] This meant that instead of attempting to reinvent pastel as a masculine medium, Aesthetes or those sympathetic to their position, embraced its emotive and expressive possibilities in order to create new art that was above all about the aesthetic experience.

Whistler is often regarded as the master Aesthete partly because of his own rhetoric and tactics of self-promotion and partly because his image was parodied by critics as

[130] Kimmel, M., *Changing Men: New Directions in Research on Men and Masculinity*, (Newbury Park: Sage, 1987), p.280.
[131] Griffin, B., 'Class, Gender, and Liberalism in Parliament, 1868-1882: The Case of the Married Women's Property Acts,' *The Historical Journal*, (March, 2003), **46** (1), pp.59–87.
[132] Pater, W., 'The School of Giorgione', *The Renaissance*, 2nd ed., (London: Macmillan & Co., 1877), p.131.

an example of the effeminate male.[133] In his own words, he defined Art as a feminine being whom he believed was, 'a goddess of dainty thought - reticent of habit, abjuring all obtrusiveness, purposing in no way to better others.'[134] This belief led him to adopt a personal style and pursue activities that were associated with the wealthy and leisured existence of the 'Dandy' as described by Baudelaire in *The Painting of Modern Life*, (1863). The essence of this personality type was defined as, 'the burning desire to create a personal form of originality, within the external limits of social conventions. It is a kind of cult of the ego which can still survive the pursuit of that form of happiness to be found in others'.[135] As such Whistler chose to wear elegantly tailored clothes over his slight frame and maintained a neat moustache and monocle to add to his almost aristocratic air. As previously mentioned, he surrounded himself with a coterie of like-minded artists and writers, dabbled in interior design and developed an artistic style that matched his highly subjective, aesthetic vision of the world.[136] In order to achieve this aim, his compositions avoided distracting detail and concentrated instead on soft colour harmonies. It is perhaps unsurprising then, that Whistler turned to the pastel medium for his ethereal images of women and his mystical visions of Venice [figs.5, 20 and 68]. Unlike those artists, such as Clausen, who wished to reinvent pastel as a masculine medium, Whistler embraced its suggestive qualities as part of his desire to create art works that mirrored his own enigmatic self-styling. However, some reviewers seized upon this particular aspect of his personality in order to call attention to what they saw as his outrageous behaviour. A typical article in the *Pall Mall*

[133] Stephenson, 2000, pp.134-5; MacDonald, M., 'James McNeill Whistler: An artist on artists', *Visual Culture in Britain*, 16:2, (2015), pp.200-222.
[134] Whistler, J., 'Ten o'clock', 20 February 1885.
[135] Baudelaire, trans. Mayne, 1995, p.27.
[136] For further information on Whistler's penchant for fashion and decoration see, Merrill, L, 1998.

Gazette, (June 1890) pointed out that 'there is something feminine in Mr Whistler, with his taste for trifles, his passion for persiflage, his utter lack of reserve.'[137] Indeed, the tone of this comment accurately distils what Christopher Breward has described as, 'the discernible horror at the incipient effeminacy suggested by the whole Aesthetic Movement.'[138]

Whistler's close circle of artistic followers emulated aspects of his artistic style and personal philosophies regarding the image of the artist and his role within society. As shown in chapters one and two, Stott was particularly enamoured of Whistler's ideas about colour harmonies, lyricism and ethereal effects. Beyond these stylistic considerations, Stott also cultivated some of Whistler's mannerisms including his literary idioms. For example, he publicly defended Whistler in a series of letters to the editor of the *Court and Society Review* in which he stated that his mentor had, 'busily woven and created for our delight works of marvellous beauty, from his fairy-tale like etchings of Venice to his soul-appealing Carlyle and Sarasote of to-day, knowing them to be caviar to the multitude, yet certain of their immortality.'[139] Stott employed the same kind of rhetoric in relation to his own work. Thus, in Corkran's biographical article she quotes a letter from Stott in which he explains his fascination with 'the awful, delightful, weirdness of moonlight' by suggesting that 'when one has felt anything of this, how inadequate are words!'[140] The vivid language of this statement recalls the aesthetic artist's preoccupation with visual sensation. This was translated

[137] 'Mr Whistler's Writings', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (18 Jun 1890), p.3.
[138] Breward, C., 'Aestheticism in the Marketplace: Fashion, Lifestyle and Popular Taste,' in *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*. (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), p.200.
[139] Stott, 'Letters to the Editor', *Court and Society Review*, (29 July 1886).
[140] Corkran, 1889, p.320.

into Stott's pastels by means of his dexterity with the soft, crumbly texture of the medium which through a careful process of blending enabled him to create a unified interplay of colour on the paper surface. The subtle pastel shades and velvety quality of Stott's pastel technique are in keeping with all of those aspects used to describe pastel as a feminine art form. Indeed, though no critic explicitly described Stott's works as feminine, they were often considered wilfully strange or as one critic from *The Athenaeum* suggested, 'the eccentricities of Mr Stott are not more surprising, and they are less offensive, in pastel than in his larger pictures in oil. On the other hand, they are not so amusing nor so original.'[141] The unease which was experienced by conservative critics regarding both the aesthetic style and the figure of the Aesthete probably stemmed from their inability to define them in relation to existing gendered constructs. For Stott and Whistler, the preoccupation with their public personas did not extend to their more orthodox private lives. Stott married in his early twenties and he and his wife had a son in 1883. Whistler did not officially marry until 1888 when he eloped with the recently widowed Beatrice Godwin but up until that point he had been in a long-term relationship with Maud Franklin. In fact, it was his poor treatment of Maud during this time that led to the breakdown of Stott and Whistler's friendship. The altercation which took place saw each artist defend his position by resorting to tropes of manly prowess.[142] Nevertheless, in a personal and professional context, their self-serving attempts to manipulate gendered associations had found expression in their adoption of a feminine medium.

[141] 'The Grosvenor Gallery, Exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists', *The Athenaeum*, (25 Oct 1890), no.3287, p.553.
[142] Whistler to the Hogarth Club, 4 Jan 1889, Whistler correspondence, system no.13461; Stott to the Editor of the New York Herald, 19 Jan 1889, Whistler correspondence, system.no.13188.

Thus, despite the emergence of such new definitions of maleness, the inherent flexibility of pastel was of equal value to those male artists who took up the medium in order to embrace its connotations of femininity and those who sought instead to reinvent it as a masculine art form. Like their female counterparts men were attracted by the material ambiguity of pastel and the possibilities it afforded them for doing something new creatively. Yet, it could also be argued that like women artists they too were predisposed towards accepted forms of subject matter because of their aspirations towards modernity. The representation of women by male artists has been defined repeatedly by feminist scholars in terms of the objectification of the male gaze.[143] This now outmoded and over played argument was used by Mulvey to account for the perpetuation of this phenomenon in images of women who are portrayed as nudes, maternal figures and whores.[144] Certainly, several male artists used pastel for female nudes. Thus, in the first Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition, Stott and Armstrong's colleague from the SBA, Jacomb-Hood, sent what was described by one reviewer as, 'a notably vigorous yet refined study of the nude.'[145] From the reviews, it is possible to establish that this was a small, full-length study of a nude woman standing in front of a high backed chair draped in yellow and black cloth. The same critic from the *Glasgow Herald* also estimated that Jacomb-Hood was particularly successful with this nude because pastel enabled him to display, 'a breadth of conception, touch, and tone which would win recognition in the best *atelier* in

[143] Mulvey, L., 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' (1975) rpr. in Jones, A., ed., *The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2003), pp.60-62; Tickner, L., 'Sexuality and/in representation: Five British Artists' (1985) rpr. in Robinson, H., *Feminism Art Theory*, (Oxford: Blackwells, 2001), pp.460-462.
[144] Mulvey, pp.60-2.
[145] 'The Grosvenor Gallery - First Pastel Exhibition', *Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1888), p.8.

Paris.'[146] Viewed in the context of the 'male gaze', it could be argued that the feminine qualities of pastel were exploited by some male artists to reinforce accepted gender roles.

Yet, as shown previously, gender distinctions were changing at this time and there was also a demand for images that reflected these new realities. Certainly, in contrast to Mulvey's theoretical model of ownership and subjugation, there were some male pastellists who offered an alternative view of their relationship to women in their works. For example, both Stott and Guthrie made portraits of their wives or female friends that differed dramatically from pieces that depicted studio models or set motifs such as mother and child. What set them apart was their capacity to convey a relaxed sense of interaction between the artist and the subject. Thus, in Stott's, *By the Fireside*, 1884 [fig.61] which was displayed at the SBA winter show 1885-6, he depicts his wife Christina reclining in a chair by the fire. He does not attempt to make his wife appear pretty or refined either in her pose or attire. Instead, he captures her as she abandons all formality and collapses into the chair. The effect is heightened by using an almost monochrome palette of tones for her face, dress and surrounding furniture, with the exception of the burning embers of the fire which are orange. In this way, Stott seems to suggest that this is not even an image of woman but rather an arrangement of intermingling forms and colour. As has been discussed in relation to some of his other portraits of Christina including *Resting*, 1884 [fig.21], it is likely that Stott had been influenced in this direction by Whistler whose portraits were titled as arrangements or harmonies of colour before citing the name of the sitter. Yet, by exploiting the delicate

[146] *Ibid.*

tonality of pastel and its soft and indistinct texture, Stott creates a work that is highly personal as well as understated and well-balanced. The resulting image is redolent of close intimacy as Christina appears at one with her husband, her home and herself. At the same time, others might argue that the visual pairing of his wife and the hearth perpetuated existing stereotypes that suggested both were at the heart of a happy home but when this work is viewed in the context of some of his other pastel portraits this seems merely coincidental. Indeed, *CMS Reading by Gaslight*, 1884 [fig.44] is similarly about the aesthetic arrangement of colour and space creating a feeling of closeness between Stott and his wife. The bond between artist and sitter is confirmed by a now untraced full-length pastel portrait of his son, *Millie Dow Stott*, 1884 [fig.78] in which, from the only known reproduction of it, he places the child who is in a velvet suit against a curtain of similar material. Pastel not only captures the texture of the fabric but also creates an ambiguity in space which makes it appear as if the artist is kneeling directly in front of his son.

Guthrie, on the other hand, used the rapidity of pastel to record instances drawn from his daily life while he was staying in Helensburgh. Certainly, it is a notable feature of his 1890 series of pastels that many featured his mother Ann Orr, the Whyte girls and possibly Maggie Hamilton as they engaged in the type of social activities that were available to women.[147] This included having afternoon tea, giving a small musical concert and playing tennis.[148] Again, some might suggest that by depicting his female family and friends in this way, Guthrie was simply reinforcing the idea that middle-

[147] For more information on Guthrie's sitters while in Helensburgh see, Tanner, A., *Helensburgh and the Glasgow School*, [exh.cat.], (Helensburgh, Victoria Halls, 9-23 September, 1972), p.68.
[148] See Appendix D.

class women should lead genteel, leisured lives sheltered from the potential dangers of the world of work. This argument could be supported by the fact that, of the known examples from this series, on the rare occasion when he depicts male subjects they are normally engaged in some kind of manual labour. For example, *Navvy*, 1890 [fig.35], features a railway worker whilst *Midday*, 1890 [fig.79] shows two gardeners sheltering from the heat of the sun as they tend the lawns outside an imposing Helensburgh residence. However, it is an exaggeration to suggest that Guthrie was being deliberately misogynistic in his selection of subject matter for his 1890 series. Rather, the immediacy of pastel inspired him to attempt modern-life subjects for the first time in his oeuvre. As this was such a significant change in his practice, it is probable that he selected these scenes because they were thoroughly contemporary whilst at the same time comfortable and familiar. Indeed, Guthrie's careful interaction with this dynamic allowed him to be even more daring on a technical level. Thus, in *Causerie*, 1890, [fig.45], what is apparently an innocuous image of his mother and Christine Whyte having a polite chat over afternoon tea, is transformed into an animated and highly innovative display of expressive handling and bold colour contrasts. Similarly, in his *Candlelight*, 1890, [fig.80] he depicts a musical recital but he imbues the work with a sense of drama by silhouetting the figures of the musicians against an iridescent mix of orange and yellow tones. By experimenting with such striking effects, Guthrie's pastels of women were anything but conventional. In this way, it is possible to assert that Stott and Guthrie at least, used pastel to make works that avoided a simple gendered reading and were representative of the complex relationships that existed between artist and sitter.

Traversing Gender Divides: The Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibitions

As previously mentioned, the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows attracted an unusually high percentage of female contributors when compared with other public exhibition forums.[149] Perhaps what is more surprising, given the status of pastel as a feminine art form and its popularity amongst female artists, is that two thirds of the exhibitors were men. Yet, there are those who might view these figures, in which male artists are still clearly in the majority, as representing little change from the existing inequalities of the contemporary exhibition scene. Even in more outwardly progressive organisations like the SBA and the NEAC, male artists benefitted from greater opportunities to have their works selected and hung in an advantageous position as a result of their superior numbers within the professional art world. Applying such a sweeping assessment to the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibitions, however, undermines male artists' achievements in adapting the gendered connotations surrounding the medium to suit their own modern stylistic agenda. Furthermore, the assumption that all male artists formed a cohesive group in order to squeeze out the interests of female artists, fails to recognise the different motivations men had for participating in a significantly more gender diverse exhibition setting. At stake was not only their own reputation as artists but also the reputation of the medium with contemporary art audiences.

[149] Between 1888 and 1890, 13% of the exhibitors at NEAC and 16.3% at GG summer exhibition were female compared with an average of 23% at GG pastel shows.

The status of the Grosvenor Gallery as one of the foremost, avant-garde exhibition spaces in London was central to securing such a positive response from both male and female artists. It had pioneered an almost immersive exhibition environment whereby the artworks were arranged as they might be in the private residence of a wealthy family. The art critic R. A. M. Stevenson who was a vocal supporter of artists who were experimenting with new materials and looser techniques encouraged them to exhibit their works in places like the Grosvenor Gallery because it allowed the audience, 'to fancy them in a room brought together by individual taste, and a sense of fitness…in order to secure a general impression of its character.'[150] This comment reveals that a carefully managed, aesthetically appealing display helped not only to show off the works to their best advantage but also enabled the would-be collector to imagine a particular piece in his or her home. The increasing importance of women as collectors, discussed earlier in this chapter, meant that male artists wanted to exhibit in a show that might appeal to this market. In addition to looking visually more attractive than the cluttered and overwhelming exhibitions held in the RA and some private art dealer galleries, the Grosvenor Gallery courted female audiences by accepting a higher proportion of work from female contributors as well as creating an environment where they could socialise. It is important to note that this was no token effort on the part of the Grosvenor Gallery. For example, from the catalogues it is possible to see that in all three shows the display was largely representative of the numbers of male and female contributors. In other words, in the 1888 show in which just over 20% of the contributors were women, the same percentage can be seen to occupy the coveted main spaces in the east and west galleries [fig.62]. Colleen Denney

[150] Stevenson, R.A.M., 'The Exhibition Question', *Court and Society Review*, (2 May 1889).

has shown that female artists and audiences could also use facilities that were usually reserved for men such as an art library and a restaurant while in the Grosvenor Gallery.[151] Lindsay clearly had matronage in mind when he organised the pastel shows as there are several reports of "ladies' nights" which were hosted on the last weekend of the 1889 and 1890 exhibitions. Women applied to attend these evenings but the amount of invitations was often limited to an exclusive guest list of aristocrats and socialites. Sofas and chairs were provided as well as a buffet and a string quartet in order to create the ambience of a ball or dinner party at a private residence.[152] Such an event, aimed at women also benefited male artists exhibiting at the Grosvenor Gallery as they still retained a clear majority in each of the central rooms. Moreover, men played a key role in organising and promoting pastel as shown by the all-male guest list to the event which was attended by Roger Ballu and the all-male council for the Society of British Pastellists. In this way, they could reap the benefits of participating in a show that catered to contemporary women without it compromising their own status as professional male artists.

This pioneering approach to selecting and arranging works in a way that served the interests of both male and female artists distinguished the Grosvenor Gallery from many of its competitors on the contemporary art scene. Denney has shown that these tactics proved to be, 'an important exhibition model for other Victorian institutions and served as an example for other avant-garde exhibition halls.'[153] In particular, the pastel shows were seen as potentially radical in terms of the medium, the artists

[151] Denney, C., 'The Grosvenor as Palace of Art: An Exhibition Model' in Casteras and Denney, 1996, p.21.
[152] 'Ladies' Night at the Grosvenor', *London Daily News*, (27 Nov 1890), p.3.
[153] *Ibid.* p.3.

involved and the display procedures. The affront to audience expectations represented by 'a process as easy as house painting' is captured by the critic from the *Liverpool Mercury* in his review of the first pastel show in 1888. He described how, 'people of spontaneous enthusiasm who generally frequent the Grosvenor on free days went about in wild ecstasy…I did not venture to suggest that impressionism made more impressionable might be unfortunate.'[154] By emphasising the unfamiliarity and the faddishness of the exhibition, such comments heightened public awareness of the pastel movement's avant-garde status. Reviews also commented on the Grosvenor's reputation as the foremost institution for innovative art and daring promotional strategies. So, for example, the reinvention of the gallery's display space at the 1890 summer show witnessed for the first time Sir Coutts Lindsay's 'novel venture in decorating the blank spaces above the stairway leading to the exhibition-rooms with several large canvases.'[155] Whilst the critic from the *Glasgow Herald* questioned the wisdom of this experiment he congratulates the Grosvenor Gallery owner on 'the excellent hanging and general arrangement of the pictures upon its walls.' There was a confidence expressed here that the conduct of this 'most interesting show…to which fashionable London is now flocking' was in safe hands.[156] This formed the backdrop to the inaugural exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists whose credential were confirmed as much by the avant-garde setting as by their pastels. The correspondent from *The Morning Post* recognised that the show 'displays not only choice executive skill but also still rarer qualities of fancy and imagination, poetic sentiment and dramatic spirit, which are assuredly the highest attributes of art.'[157] It could be argued

[154] 'Our London Correspondence', *Liverpool Mercury*, (22 Oct 1888), p.5.
[155] 'The Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition.', *Glasgow Herald*, (03 May 1890), p.9
[156] *Ibid.*
[157] 'The Pastel Exhibition', *The Morning Post*, (18 Oct 1890), p.5.

therefore that participation in the pastel exhibitions, far from damaging the reputations of artists, actually worked to affirm their status as pioneers of modern artistic practices in Britain. Viewed from this perspective then, the effectiveness of a gendered reading of pastel for discouraging the use of pastel amongst professional artists was lessened and allowed pastel to be seen in a completely new way.

Conclusion

During the 1880's the pastel revival took place within the context of an ongoing renegotiation of assigned gender roles in art and society. The contemporary commentator, Charles Blanc had defined art in terms of masculine line and feminine colour, in a way which mirrored existing societal divisions between men and women. Thus, the attributes of strength and vigour associated with masculinity were counterposed by the softness and delicacy thought to epitomise femininity. The pastel medium itself was therefore deemed to be feminine by virtue of the fact that it was fragile, friable and ephemeral. These same characteristics which apparently marked it out as a lesser medium, recommended its use to a new generation of artists keen to adopt innovative styles, techniques and subject matter. Pastellists celebrated the ambiguity of their chosen medium which allowed them to experiment with its materiality. In the process of redefining the boundaries of the so-called "feminine" medium, male artists revealed their own engagement with new masculine identities. Women, too, moved closer to their male counterparts as art training at home and abroad, together with increased exhibiting opportunities, confirmed their status as professional artists. However, pastel was dogged by its association with women and amateur practice which made it an easy target for the critics of the three pastel exhibitions held at the Grosvenor Gallery between 1888 and 1890. Yet, the availability

of display space was a key element in bringing this new art form to a wider audience. In this respect, the Grosvenor Gallery was instrumental in providing a sympathetic forum for the promotion of the pastel medium. Its standing as a progressive institution framed the critical reception of pastel and allowed for the gradual appreciation of what was distinctive about it in terms of contemporary art practice. Thus, attempts to denigrate pastel as a "feminine" medium were subverted by both male and female artists to challenge the existing hierarchies of the art establishment and endorse its modern status.

Chapter 5 The transience of a modern medium

Introduction

This thesis has demonstrated how the pastel movement captured the interest of a generation of artists, altered the public perception of this medium and aided in the development of modern art practices. The marked resurgence of the medium was even more remarkable given that it occurred over a relatively brief timeframe. As previously discussed, the trend had its origins in the early 1880s when British artists from the younger generation were exposed to contemporary examples of pastel works from foreign and local artists. So, for example, Clausen began to use pastel to colour charcoal and pencil sketches while he was a student in London at this time. It is also known that Stott took up the medium in 1881 for a piece entitled the *Bridge at Gretz* (sic).[1] In the same year, Whistler held his show of Venice pastels at the Fine Art Society in London. Several critics of the first large-scale pastel exhibition in 1888 believed that this occasion was the only precedent for a contemporary display of this medium in Britain.[2] However, in the intervening years an increasing number of artists began to experiment with pastel and their efforts were gradually gaining ground in some of the more liberal-minded galleries such as the SBA. This growing interest in pastel culminated in the first Grosvenor Gallery show of 1888 and after two further shows dedicated to contemporary pastel art, the artists involved moved to form the Society of British Pastellists in 1890. What should have been the defining moment for the pastel movement and its future progress was instead marked by a watershed beyond which large-scale pastel exhibitions ceased with the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery

[1] Stott, MS, 1896, p.12.
[2] Monkhouse, C., 'The First Pastel Exhibition', *The Academy*, (3 Nov 1888), no.861, p.294.

and the disbandment of the dedicated pastel society. These two events were interlinked and delivered a devastating blow to the reputation of pastel which after approximately ten years faded from public consciousness.

The transience of the pastel movement is even more pronounced when it is compared with other lesser media revivals that occurred at the same time. Certainly, the Society of Painter-Etchers and Engravers formed in 1880 still exists today although it is now called the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers.[3] The brevity of the pastel trend begs several questions then, not only about the underlying causes of its demise but also concerning what if any continued resonance it had beyond 1890. Crucial in this respect is the public perception of pastel as a fashion and something therefore which enjoyed momentary popularity only to collapse after the initial fervour dissipated. Equally, the ephemeral quality of pastel itself which had recommended its use to those artists concerned with fugitive images and textural effects may also have played a role in its disappearance. In the short-term, critical commentary that drew attention to its material instability served to undermine consumer confidence in pastel works. In the long-term, the inherent fragility of pastel could account for the limited number of surviving examples of works from this period. This problem has in turn led to a lack of visibility which has fundamentally shaped how this trend has been viewed retrospectively. The Grosvenor Gallery shows allowed pastels to be seen on a scale never previously realised in Britain. However, the closure of this institution immediately limited the number of opportunities to view pastels and as a result some of the works produced under the auspices of this revival were entirely removed from

[3] Hopkinson, M., *No Day Without a Line: the history of the Royal Society of Painter-Printmakers, 1880-1999*, (Oxford: Ashmolean Press, 1999).

the public domain. This would certainly have contributed towards the impression that pastel as a significant art form vanished after 1890. Thus, it is the intention of this final chapter to consider the extent to which issues of fashion, materiality and visibility impacted on the longevity of the pastel movement and its place within the context of contemporary artistic developments and the wider art historical canon.

Fashion

The meteoric rise in popularity of pastel over the course of a decade meant that it was widely identified as a fashionable trend. The meaning of such a classification has been discussed by social philosopher Gilles Lipovetsky who believes that fashion is primarily 'a social mechanism characterised by a particularly brief timespan and by more or less fanciful shifts that enable it to affect quite diverse spheres of collective life.'[4] This notion is broadly exemplified by the burgeoning pastel movement and goes some way towards explaining its vulnerability to change. The underlying transience of fashion is further referenced by Christopher Breward who has stated that the term 'fashion' can be used as 'a powerful metaphor for the mercenary and materialistic state of modern society and culture in general.'[5] In other words, the constant generation of new trends is a complex societal response which is endorsed by the acquisition of what has come to be regarded as fashionable. By its very nature, fashion has an inbuilt obsolescence. For some critics of the pastel movement, it was their sense of outrage against what they saw as a temporary sensation devoid of enduring worth, which they articulated in their reviews. Thus, one reviewer for the 1889 Grosvenor Gallery pastel

[4] Lipovetsky, G., *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy,* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), p.16.
[5] Breward, C., 'Fashion', *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Consumption,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p.620.

exhibition suggested that, 'a half-hearted wish to be of the mode, modish, has tempted painters to work in pastel, rather than the actual attraction of the material.'[6] In addition, another critic remarked that, 'one may reasonably doubt whether great artists will ever use it [pastel] for great work.'[7] These comments worked to cast the pastel movement as an insignificant fad not followed with any level of sincerity and unlikely to produce works that would stand the test of time.

Such opinions appear to have originated from a general distrust of an art form that lacked the necessary cultural precedents in British artistic tradition. For example, a critic from the *Glasgow Herald* noted that, 'just as decorative art has never until recently taken a strong hold in our country, so pastels have made much less way than water-colours in the long rivalry with oils.'[8] Certainly, watercolour could boast such distinguished past masters as Thomas Girtin (1775-1802) and J. M. W. Turner (1775-1855) and was supported by the efforts of several dedicated societies, whilst pastel appeared to come out of nowhere. This impression was compounded by the fact that the organisers of the Grosvenor Gallery pastel shows shunned tradition by excluding historic examples of pastel works from the display. This is in marked contrast to the concurrent silverpoint etching revival whereby artists closely emulated the technique and subject matter of Quattrocento examples.[9] Indeed, the complete novelty of pastel and the exhibitions designed to promote it was at the forefront of the initial reviews. One critic from *The Standard* even went so far as to state that 'few of us are ready to

[6] 'The Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1889), p.8.
[7] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Times*, (18 Oct 1890), p.12.
[8] 'The Grosvenor Gallery: First Pastel Exhibition', *The Glasgow Herald*, (22 Oct 1888), p.8.
[9] Sell, S., '"The interesting and difficult medium": The Silverpoint Revival in Nineteenth Century Britain', *Master Drawings*, LI, 1, (spring, 2013), pp.67-8.

receive as other than the amusement of the moment the display of drawings in pastel which is here made.'[10] The tenor of such a commentary was constantly reiterated and inevitably raised doubts about this new and untried aesthetic in terms of its long-term value.

Accusations of novelty were often paired with remarks about the foreignness of pastel. Many reviewers were quick to point out that the medium did not have a native tradition in Britain and was primarily a French import. As such, a reviewer from the *St James Gazette* noted on the eve of the first pastel exhibition, 'in Paris, where there is a flourishing *Société de Pastellistes*, the art has long been recognized, and it is a matter of course that a large proportion of the exhibitors at Bond street [sic] are French.'[11] Interestingly, this endorsement of French pastel tradition by the British press is matched by the correspondent for *Le Figaro* who celebrates the long-established English mastery of watercolour in his account of the inaugural exhibition of the *Société d'aquarellistes français* in 1879.[12] This national preoccupation about the strengths of different media exposed anxieties about the resilience of the native school in terms of technical mastery and stylistic originality. Such concerns were often linked to the commodification of artistic practice in a competitive and increasingly crowded international art market. These wider fears are evident in the comments of a critic from *The Leeds Mercury* who was at pains to note, 'the eagerness with which our artists have adopted the medium without first ascertaining whether their qualifications

[10] 'Pastels in the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Standard*, (20 Oct 1888), p.2.
[11] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor', *St James Gazette*, (22 Oct 1888), pp.5-6.
[12] *'Les Anglais ont été pendant de longues années les maîtres incontestés de l'aquarelle. Ils sont, en effet, de grands virtuoses dans ce genre charmant.'* Wolff, A., 'La Société des aquarellistes Français', *Le Figaro*, (9 Avril 1879).

were specially adapted to its requirements. Having heard so much of late of the distressed condition of painters as a body, we are irreverently compelled to liken some of their works…to those we see on the pavements of so many London streets.'[13] The inference here is of impulse unregulated by artistic rigour. Furthermore, such a perceived erosion of traditional standards with regard to art and art-making meant that for some notoriously conservative commentators, innovation also threatened the very notion of national identity. Thus, Harry Quilter stated in his 1892 book, *Preferences in Art, Life and Literature*, that,

> 'blinded as we all are by the attractiveness of things which are new and progressive, and exactly in accordance not only with the taste of the moment but with the spirit of change which modifies all the thoughts and actions of this restless day, it is scarcely to be wondered at that ordinary picture-seers…do not notice the gradual disappearance from our pictures of what may be called their distinctively English peculiarities.'[14]

The impact of insidious foreign influences is merely hinted at in this text, but of greater significance for the short duration of the pastel trend was its association with young artists. This meant that both the artists and the works they exhibited were seen as immature whilst the epithet of youth had certain connotations of fashion and transience. The sociological underpinnings for such an association are discussed by Tamar Horowitz who has noted in her article on consumer motivation that, faced with the choice of 'fashion' or 'classic', 'the former is most prevalent amongst the younger groups and the least amongst the oldest.'[15] It is significant then that numerous critics noted the domination of all three pastel exhibitions by the next generation of artists, a

[13] 'The Grosvenor Gallery. Autumn Exhibition.' *The Leeds Mercury*, (25 Oct 1888), p.8.
[14] Quilter, H., 'The Unfashionable Art of England' in *Preferences in Art, Life and Literature,* (London: Swan, Sonnenschein & Co., 1892), p.151.
[15] Horowitz, T., 'Excitement vs. Economy: Fashion and Youth Culture in Britain', *Adolescence*, (Fall, 1982), p.630.

further indication of its fashionable status. This feature of the pastel movement attracted a great deal of cynicism from the more traditional art critics or as one remarked, 'pastel-painting seems to have taken hold of our artists – that is to say, of the younger and more impressionable of them.'[16] In order to examine whether such a claim can be substantiated it is necessary to cite the four artists referenced throughout this thesis whose age profile is broadly representative of the pastellists who exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery. At the time of the first pastel exhibition in 1888 Guthrie and Armstrong were both 29 years old, Stott was 31 and Clausen, the oldest at 36. Typically, these artists had used pastel extensively, although not exclusively, prior to the show and had already exhibited pastels and paintings in other galleries. The unprecedented volume of pastel works submitted during the course of the three shows, some 1124 in total, proved to be surprising for those who believed that the medium lacked substantial support in Britain.[17] In order to account for this apparently overnight sensation critics singled out youthful endeavour as one possible explanation. Their theorising was based partly on prejudice and partly on their acquaintance with oil paintings by some of these same artists, which had formed the subject of earlier reviews. Thus, on writing about Stott at the July 1888 exhibition at the Society of British Artists, the commentator notes that the artist, 'is always awake to impressions, and courageously ready for experiment in matter and style.'[18]

Familiarity with an artist's oeuvre allowed for an informed comparison between painted and pastel works and enabled reviewers to distinguish professional artists from

[16] 'The British Pastellists', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (17 Oct 1890), p.2.
[17] 298 in 1888, 453 in 1889 and 373 in 1890. A total of 1124 works over all three shows. See Appendices A-C.
[18] 'Exhibitions', *The Art Journal*, (July 1888), p.222.

amateurs. Yet whenever critics were called upon to provide a generalised gallery overview they frequently reverted to adverse criticism based on their judgement that pastel was a lesser medium linked to amateur practice. Thus, for example a critic from the *St James's Gazette* suggested that some of the artists showing work at the inaugural exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists, 'seem to think that the roughest suggestion in crayon is sufficient, and that, given a tolerably bold touch, neither beauty of form nor truth of colour is needful.'[19] This analysis fails to take account of the vital importance for the pastellists of 'suggestion'. Their sketchy and expressive styles and vivid colouring were key elements in pictures which aimed at a more nuanced and experimental interpretation of subject matter. At issue was the perceived lack of finish in the facture. New styles and techniques were interpreted as somehow naïve because they did not conform to accepted standards of accurate and detailed representation. Youth, like the tropes of fashion and foreignness, frequently featured in negative reviews for the pastel exhibitions as a possible rationale for works which posed a threat to established artistic hierarchies.

Such was the tenor of some of these accounts that Anthony Lester, writing in 2000, blamed the barrage of bad press for the collapse of the Society of British Pastellists.[20] His conclusion was partially formulated on the comparative endurance of the Pastel Society, formed in 1898, of which he is presently a member. From its inception, the Pastel Society sought to distinguish itself from its failed predecessor by eliminating those aspects of membership and organisation which were potentially contentious. Thus, it was more notably composed of academicians including George Henry

[19] 'The Grosvenor Gallery', *St James's Gazette*, (17 Oct 1890), p.5.
[20] Lester, A., 2000, p.12.

Boughton (1833-1905) and Sir William Blake Richmond as well as other more traditional genre painters like Sir James Dromgole Linton (1840-1916) and Samuel Melton Fisher (1859-1939). In addition, by hiring the galleries of the Royal Institute of Watercolour Painters for their exhibitions, the Pastel Society was attempting to present itself as an analogous institution rather than a forum for innovative art like the Grosvenor Gallery. This more measured approach ensured longevity for the Pastel Society but forfeited the reputation which pastel had acquired during the 1880s revival as a modern medium. Indeed, Lester's argument fails to recognise that the reproach expressed in contemporary reviews which he believes was so damaging could also be seen as an affirmation of the aims of the artists involved. By identifying pastel as a technically inferior medium wielded by young upstarts who were deliberately trying to undermine accepted standards of art-making, conservative art critics inadvertently highlighted those aspects which made it particularly suited to artists who were actively pursuing a modern aesthetic. Lester's cursory survey of the pastel exhibition reviews also ignores the more positive comments made by critics who were supportive of contemporary artistic developments. For example, Morley Roberts, as previously mentioned, believed that the 1888 show reached, 'a higher level of uniform excellence than any collection of entirely modern art put before the public for many years'.[21]

Furthermore, the explicit and the implicit recognition of the pastel exhibitions as a modern art enterprise in the press reviews accounts for the popularity of pastel amongst aspiring modern artists. It may also have been one of the reasons why the pastel movement grew exponentially within a relatively short period of time. Young

[21] Roberts, M., 'The Pastels at the Grosvenor', *The Scottish Art Review,* (Dec 1888), vol.1, no.7, p.178.

professional artists were supported by the strong networks of association, discussed in chapter one which allowed them to share ideas and propagate the trend for pastel amongst their peers. Thus, Stott's interest in pastel was shared by many of his colleagues from the circle surrounding Whistler including Armstrong who began to exhibit works in the medium in 1887. They were joined by Starr and Steer in the 1888 pastel show which demonstrates that they were all familiar with its uses by this date. Equally, it seems likely that it was Clausen who invited Guthrie to join the Society of British Pastellists in 1890 given that Clausen had interceded on behalf of the Glasgow School artists to have their work shown in the Grosvenor Gallery summer exhibition of the same year.[22] The professional connections shared by the fifteen artists who served on the new society's council and the 43 founder members substantiate the fact that at the core of the pastel revival was a group of talented and ambitious artists who worked together to advance both the medium and their own careers. Whilst this may have led to accusations that the artists involved only adopted the medium out of shallow self-interest, the calibre of the work produced by many of the British pastellists revealed a greater level of commitment to mastering the properties of the medium. This was confirmed by some of the more circumspect reviews that stated after three years, the large-scale exhibitions had succeeded in showing 'the assiduity with which pastel painting is now being followed in this country.'[23]

[22] *The Grosvenor Gallery. Summer Exhibition.* 1890 [exh.cat.] reveals the names of nineteen Scottish artists who exhibited in this show, twelve of whom were included in Martin, D., *The Glasgow School of Painting*, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1897) list of affiliated artists. See also McConkey, K., 'The Glasgow Boys in the 1890s' in *Pioneering Painters*, [exh.cat.], (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2010), p.103.
[23] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *The Times*, (18 Oct 1890), p.12.

Certainly, a gradual tone of acceptance for the pastel trend was a feature of many of the reviews for the 1890 show. After the shock of its sudden appearance in 1888, critics and audiences had become more accustomed to viewing this type of work. A similar softening of critical opinion over time can be seen in the reception of other modern artistic developments. So, for example, Francis Newbery commented on the process by which a style or movement was moderated and came to be accepted in his introduction for the 1897 monograph on *The Glasgow School of Painters* when he stated that the rebellion by young English artists against the RA 'though brave at the outset…speedily had its fire dampened and its ardour cooled by the diplomacy of the very body attacked; who simply opened its gates and admitted their opponents.'[24] Such shifts in attitude were double-edged for innovative artists and artworks. On the one hand, it demonstrated the success of specialist exhibitions and societies, artistic networks and written advocacy for art promotion. On the other hand, appealing to a broader and more mainstream audience effectively removed any sense of avant-gardism. In a parallel development, the careers of some of the leading proponents of pastel were marked by an initial zeal for pursuing new and experimental materials and techniques - an enthusiasm which was, however, subsequently abandoned. For Guthrie, at least, pastel represented a phase of intense youthful experimentation which was not sustained beyond the 1890s when he began to focus almost exclusively on portrait painting.[25] Thus, it can be seen that as artists matured professionally, their reduced involvement in the pastel movement accounted in part for a loss of momentum. The resulting hiatus was used by the founder members of the Pastel

[24] Newbery, F., 'Introduction', in Martin, D., *The Glasgow School of Painters*, (London: George Bell & Sons, 1897), p.xvii.
[25] See Appendix D.

Society (1898) to distance themselves from pastel's frenetic past by attempting to show that the medium was now an established art practice in Britain rather than a modern art trend. The tempering of fervour for pastel indicates that it had undergone a process of evolution from humble origins as a preparatory colouring medium, to a dynamic contemporary art form before finally defining its own conventions. This model also helps to explain why some exponents of the 1880s pastel trend, including Stott and Clausen, continued to use the medium throughout the remainder of their careers.

Despite the fact that pastel survived beyond its apparent demise in 1890, with the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery, it had been a trend relentlessly promoted as 'a new departure in English art' which could no longer sustain its impression of newness.[26] Gloria Groom has commented on the cyclical nature of late nineteenth-century artistic fashions by establishing the truism, 'what was à la mode one day was just as quickly démodé.'[27] In this way, the transience of the pastel movement can be linked to its status as a modern medium. Certainly, Baudelaire's definition of modernity was bound to notions of contemporaneity, bourgeois fashion, ephemeral images and material expediency.[28] The fervour for pastel in Britain is representative of this model in a number of ways. The medium was neither well-known nor highly regarded and so its use by Britain's young artistic élite and its appearance in some of the most progressive art galleries in London framed the movement as an affront to long-held beliefs about the value and purpose of art. The consternation this attracted from

[26] 'From our London Correspondent, by private wires', *The Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, (17 Oct 1890), p.5.
[27] Groom, G., 'The Social Network of Fashion', in Gloria Groom, (ed.,) *Impressionism, Fashion and Modernity*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), p.43.
[28] Baudelaire, C., trans., J. Mayne, 1995, p.4.

conservative art critics only added to its reputation as a modern art form. As we have seen, the most effective way of limiting the impact of an avant-garde fashion was to incorporate it into the mainstream. Thus, the foundation of the Society of British Pastellists (1890) which was designed to facilitate the transition from fad to serious art form inadvertently contributed towards the declining popularity of this medium after 1890 amongst artists who were concerned primarily with the latest innovations in media, style and technique.

Material Ephemerality

The transience of the pastel movement cannot be ascribed solely to its status as a contemporary fashion. Indeed, etching which enjoyed a revival in popularity at the same time as pastel and was adopted by well-known artists including Hubert von Herkomer (1849-1914), Edward J. Poynter (1836-1919) and Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836-1912), had an enduring appeal that considerably outlasted pastels. The radical discrepancy between the longevity of these two late-nineteenth-century artistic trends can be attributed to the diverse appeal of their diametrically opposed working methods. Thus, etching required artistic conviction, precise mark-making and a laborious preparation and proofing process. The founder of the Society of Painter-Etchers, Sir Francis Seymour Haden believed that the essence of etching was enacted by the unalterable stroke of the etcher's needle on the plate.[29] By comparison, pastel seemed to epitomise an ephemeral art form. The dust-like properties of the medium made it appear fragile and easy to disturb or erase. Its position vis-à-vis accepted notions of line and colour, drawing and painting, sketch and finished piece was entirely

[29] Haden, F. S., *The Art of the Painter-Etcher being the first presidential address to the Royal Society of Painter-Etchers for 1890*, (London: Deprez & Gutekunst, 1890), p.11.

ambiguous. It allowed the artist greater immediacy between his eye, hand and the paper surface and therefore was ideally suited to capturing fleeting impressions under shifting conditions of movement, light and atmosphere. The indeterminate status of pastel, its inherent transience and scope for spontaneity attracted both advocates and critics. Some saw these properties as intrinsic to lesser art forms which lacked the material and technical quality to sustain long-term value. At the same time, it was these features that made it so popular with artists who sought to pursue distinctly modern ideas and aesthetics. Such ambivalence continued to shape perceptions about both the medium and the movement which had sought to popularise it beyond 1890. Materiality then, is central to understanding how pastel appeared to recede into obscurity after such a vital period of renewal.

At the outset of the pastel trend, the ephemerality of the medium was posited as one of the primary reasons for its inconsistent appeal as an art form. Blanc had insisted in 1874 that, 'the grace of pastel is also its defect – to be friable and to fall in dust.'[30] This note of warning was repeated by several of the reviewers to the first pastel show who cautioned their readers about the intrinsic fragility of the medium. For example, a critic for *The Belfast News-Letter* believed that, 'Time deals hardly with pastels, for the colour cannot be fixed, as the process is a dry one, and even when hung on a wall the inevitable vibration causes the colour to powder off, thus gradually the fine effects being altogether lost.'[31] Such fundamental doubts concerning the status of pastel as a serious art form called into question not only its longevity but also its value as an art object. For some this made it synonymous with the type of disposable art made by

[30] Blanc, C., trans., Kate Doggett Newall, 1874, p.191.
[31] 'Metropolitan Gossip', *The Belfast News-Letter*, (22 Oct 1888), p.8.

commercial or street-based artists with one critic stating that, 'our principal pastelliste is the ill-dressed gentleman who chalks in bold colours on the pavements of our streets and is careful to wash his pictures out when he goes away lest peradventure some other should profit by his industry.'[32] The suggestion that pastel's lowly status rendered it worthless is underlined by the author's insistence on its essential transience.

Yet, these cautionary tales signally failed to take into account the ongoing developments in art materials and art practice which would transform the use of pastel and help to confront these widely-held misconceptions. Technological advances in specialist papers, fixing agents, matting and glazing were promoted as viable means to preserve pastel for future generations. Indeed, Sprinck recounted in 1886 how his use of finely pumiced paper had allowed his pastel to adhere so strongly that even though it, 'had no glass, and was for many years removed, knocked about, and thoroughly neglected' it survived 'nearly undamaged.'[33] Methods of setting pastel through the use of a fixative had been devised since the eighteenth century. Murray outlined in 1860 three of what he considered to be the best means of fixing a pastel, including painting the back of the paper with an isinglass and distilled vinegar solution, immersing the work in a water and alum bath or placing the work over the steam produced by boiling together water, wine spirit and powdered sugar candy.[34] The advent of atomiser spray bottles similar to those used for perfume allowed artists to apply these concoctions to the surface of the works in a fine mist. Some artists valued this technique as a way to build up successive layers of pastel or preserve a finished

[32] 'Our Weekly Letter', *The Western Times*, (03 Nov 1888), p.2.
[33] Sprinck, 1886, p.14.
[34] See Glossary; Murray, 1860, pp.52-9.

piece but others, including Jopling, felt that using a chemical agent to bind the pigment altered the powdery texture and luminosity that were unique to the medium.[35] Instead, it was widely recommended that artists protect their pastels under glass, which was as one astute observer of the 1888 pastel show noted more available than ever due to improved manufacturing techniques.[36]

Awareness about the means of conserving pastel through judicious framing and packing had gradually expanded to the extent that Caw describes at length how both Guthrie and Alex Reid took great pains when preparing Guthrie's works for his 1891 solo show at Dowdeswells'.[37] William Burrell also recorded that he had witnessed Reid carefully packing Guthrie's pastels at his premises on West George Street in Glasgow.[38] Such rigorous processes afforded artists the means to confer a degree of permanence on fleeting pastel effects and at the same time address concerns about the long-term survival of their pictures. From the available records of artists like Stott and Guthrie it is possible to see that competitive prices together with assurances of longevity helped to bolster consumer confidence in the medium. Certainly, their pastels proved to be eminently saleable, if at the lower end of the price scale. Stott sold a number of his pastels within his lifetime for sums ranging from £20 to £60.[39] Intermittent mention of sales in the Stanhope Forbes's letters to Elizabeth Armstrong also reveals that she was achieving approximately £30 for her pastel works.[40]

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[35] Jopling, 1900, p.56.
[36] 'The Grosvenor exhibition of pastel pictures', *The Athenaeum*, (27 Oct 1888), no.3183, p.560.
[37] Caw, 1932, p.57.
[38] Burrell to McNeill Reid, 14 January 1946, acc.no. 6925/II N – Burrell, NLS.
[39] The sold works with prices recorded include *Waning Moon*, £30; *Summer Sky (Pastoral)*, £40; *Souvenir de Plage*, £20; *Purple Mountain*, £50 and *Blue River* 1,500 frs (£60); Stott, 1896. MS. See Appendix D.
[40] Stanhope Forbes to Elizabeth Forbes, 28th March, [n.d.], Tate Archive, ref.no. 9015.2.2.31.

Although prices for artworks varied depending on the artist's reputation, the size of the work and the demand from collectors, the sums obtained for my four chosen artists' pastels were broadly similar to their peers' works in lesser media. For example, Guthrie's Glasgow Boys' colleague, James Paterson (1854-1932), who kept a sales ledger from 1877 until 1914, sold his watercolour *Winter on the Cairn* (28 x 21 inches) when it was exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery summer show in 1889 for £30.[41] Despite these amounts being substantially less than those achieved for an oil painting of equivalent size, a realistic pricing strategy allowed potential collectors to enjoy their purchases, unperturbed by doubts that they might deteriorate significantly over time.

Confidence about the material longevity of the medium was not misguided as shown by the survival of a significant sample of pastel works produced in the 1880s. Thus, of the 28 pastels listed in the catalogue for Stott's 1901 memorial exhibition 16 are known to be extant either in public or private collections.[42] These figures are representative of a well-documented oeuvre whereby the artist carefully noted the titles and some of the provenance of the works within his lifetime. As so many of his works are traceable, it is also possible to see how well they have survived. In some cases, the surface of Stott's surviving pastels has deteriorated due to fading, surface dirt, unsuitable framing or the instability of the fixing agent. This is certainly true of *The Eiger*, 1888 [fig.65] which has darkened considerably and has visible spots of fixative particularly in the lighter areas in the background. Similarly, *Sparkling Sea*, 1884 [fig.87] which was one of the series of seascapes he made of the Cumbrian coast has

[41] Sold to W. S. Rathbone. James Paterson MS, *List of Paintings sold 1877-1914*, GUL special collections MS Paterson K1.
[42] 'Pictures of William Stott of Oldham', [exh.cat.], (London: Eden Fisher, 7 Oct – 8 Nov 1901), pp.7-11, See Appendix D.

notably faded especially when the colours are compared with other examples from this same group, such as *Sandpools* [fig.32]. The former has also suffered some minor staining in the foreground areas of sand although it is not certain whether this was the result of a flaw in the material properties of the paper ground, pastel pigment or fixing agent. For the most part, however, these works are in good condition suggesting that pastel was no more susceptible to change than other types of media including watercolour. In addition, it shows that Stott's pastels, at least, will continue to survive as evidence not only of his prowess with the medium but also the vitality of the movement during which they were made.

Indeed, it is only through the close inspection of actual works that any assessment can be made of an artist's use of pastel. Once pastels are lost or irreparably damaged this depletes the stock of traceable material and prevents further investigation of those works that merited significant attention from contemporary reviewers. For example, it is a source of regret that for the purposes of this thesis access to the pastel oeuvre of William Llewellyn (1858-1941) proved to be problematic. Llewellyn was a well-known artist on the contemporary art scene having exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery summer shows together with the SBA and the NEAC. In later life, he was elected as President of the RA, a position which he occupied between 1928 and 1938. Significantly for this study, he also served, alongside Clausen, on the hanging committee for the 1889 pastel show and as a council member for the inaugural exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists in 1890. He submitted ten pastels to the first and second Grosvenor gallery pastel shows, four of which from their titles,

specifically reference Cornwall.[43] Yet, only his *Harlyn Bay, North Cornwall Coast*, [n.d] shown in 1889, is still extant. A notable submission to the 1888 show, entitled *Waiting*, [n.d.] was widely praised but only the press reports now remain. His solo exhibition held in 1900 featured seven pastel works none of which has been located. Without any biographical or provenance records for this artist, it is impossible to establish conclusively if his works were lost because of the fragility of the medium or some other underlying cause. Even in the case of my four chosen artists, there are notable gaps in the surviving oeuvre. Only 24 of the 56 pastels by Guthrie, described in Caw's 1933 index, are currently accounted for.[44] This discrepancy can be ascribed to the fact that Guthrie's works, unlike Stott's, were not diligently recorded and some titles have been changed over time. In addition, there are a few pieces such as *Navvy*, 1890 [fig.35], discussed in chapter two, that have been damaged beyond repair. Similarly, there is an incomplete picture of the extent of Armstrong's and Clausen's pastel use as neither artist kept complete records and much of the information on these pieces has been sourced retrospectively from exhibition catalogues or gallery object files. It is noteworthy then, that despite generating such a large volume of work, the decline of the pastel movement after 1890 is itself reflected in the fragmentation of the extant oeuvre.

The survival of contemporary examples of pastel art is not the only means of assessing the impact of this trend on attitudes towards materiality. The techniques that artists developed through their experimentation with the medium had consequences for the

[43] 1888 cat.nos. 37, 117 and 271 (*A Cornish Fishing Village*); 1889 cat.nos. 35 (*The River Camel – Padstow*), 52 (*Street in Port Isaac, North Cornwall*), 77, 142 (*Harlyn Bay, North Cornwall Coast*), 210, 281, 388.
[44] Caw, 1932, pp.233-5; See Appendix D.

way they worked in other media. These shifts were sometimes subtle and at other times much more extensive. Thus, any technical or stylistic influences that originated from an artist's foray into pastel provide evidence of its continuing relevance. Indeed, the lasting effects of pastel can be seen in the mature styles of Armstrong, Guthrie, Clausen and Stott. For example, Armstrong was able to use pastel as a means to balance her dual interests in line and colour. Her use of strongly applied, directional linearity stemmed from her talents as an etcher whilst a high-keyed palette was a feature of both her watercolours and her oil paintings. Pastel afforded her the opportunity to combine these elements, bringing greater dynamism to her mature pieces. She applied what she had learned to her later paintings including *Harvest Moon*, c.1901 [fig.81] in which she used vivid primary shades and bold strokes to create a strikingly decorative composition. Thus, although she did not use pastel as prolifically after 1890, it significantly affected the way she approached her subject matter, choosing to focus on the interplay of colour and movement within a scene. The long-term effects of pastel were also keenly felt in Guthrie's later painting style. Despite using the medium for only three years, his experimentation with its unique qualities played a significant role in the creation of one of his most ambitious paintings, *Midsummer*, 1892 [fig.82]. This exploration of the same modern-life subject matter from his 1890 Helensburgh series, featured flashes of bright colour which have been applied using bold, square brushstrokes, reminiscent of his spontaneous and expressive handling of the pastel chalks. Indeed, Caw believed emphatically that, 'it is with these [pastels], rather than with his oil pictures, either earlier or later, that the charming piece of impressionism, his diploma picture, 'Midsummer' (1892), must be grouped.'[45]

[45] Guthrie submitted *Midsummer*, 1892 to the Royal Scottish Academy as his diploma work. Caw, 1908, p.368.

Of course some artists did not stop using pastel after 1890 and thus any stylistic developments occurred concurrently in all their art works. Indeed, Clausen retained pastel as a tool for experimentation beyond the scope of the pastel revival. Even though he would rarely showcase the level of daring in terms of colour and finish that he exhibited in his pastels from the 1880s, he continued to use it as a means to try out new approaches in his preparatory sketches. For example, in a study for *The Dark Barn*, 1900 [fig.83] he is preoccupied by the play of light in interior space and the different textures he is able to achieve, from frenetic strokes to render the chaff on the floor to soft smudging suggesting the gloomy shadows at the rear of the barn. It was at this time that Clausen's style across the different media he employed became much more suggestive, with a subtler colour palette and diffused handling of light and shade. His pastel, *The Mill at Dusk*, c.1895, [fig.30] discussed in chapter two, is evidence of this shift in focus. Unlike his earlier pastels where he used rapidly applied areas of hatching, in this work he revels in the soft, malleable quality of loose pastel pigment which he blends to create the effects of fading light. This evocative treatment of his subject infiltrated his oil paintings including, *Dusk*, 1903, [fig.84] in which he contrasts delicate colour harmonies in the evening sky and softly illuminated haystack with the trees in the foreground which are in complete shade. The elements are unified by his use of carefully blended undertones which are then overworked with an impasto of colour applied in quick dashes that covers the entire picture surface. Rutherston commented that in the late 1890s Clausen's, 'preoccupation with light has led to that sacrifice in the solidity of forms…the paint has a curious woolly, pastel-like effect

which blurs the aspect of things.'[46] Though Rutherston seems to lament this development, his observations confirm that Clausen's paintings and pastels, both preparatory and finished works, came to be closely allied, demonstrating the essential reciprocity between different aspects of his creative process.

Stott, on the other hand, maintained his use of pastel as a distinct but equally significant part of his artistic repertoire. He continued to produce both pastels and paintings until his death in 1900. In contrast to Clausen, his later paintings interpreting Classical and Norse mythology were briefly marked by a style which differed radically from his pastel works. This attempt to explore in his paintings new subjects and styles was met with hostility from the critics. Even his biographer, Alice Corkran conceded that, 'the limitations of Mr Stott's art are apparent in his representation of these [nymphs'] beautiful physical forms'.[47] His response was to return to the more measured approach which had characterised the synchronicity of his earlier painted and pastel oeuvre. Between 1896 and 1897 he made a series of pastel seascapes with a strong narrative focus. In *S.S. Umbria,* 1897 [fig.85] which was drawn from life, he adopts a similar subject to Guthrie's *On Board the Ivanhoe,* 1890 [fig.49] and depicts a group of passengers on the deck of a long distance liner that sailed from Liverpool to New York via Cork.[48] More usually Stott excelled in the portrayal of unpeopled pastel landscapes and the highly innovative wave studies from the same series such as *Wake of a Ship,* 1896 [fig.85] signal his active engagement with the texture and colour of a seascape viewed from the stern of a ship. His exploration of the vivid blue and green tones,

[46] Rutherston, 1923, p.21.
[47] Corkran, 1889, p.322.
[48] Brown, 2003, p.84.

flattened perspective and high horizon suggests not only the vastness of the ocean but also the immediate proximity of the water. Of my four artists then, Stott was the exception in that his search for startling effects continued to be expressed most forcefully in pastel.

Works in pastel completed after 1890 reveal artists' indebtedness to the medium in terms of the development of their personal style. What was of equal significance for sustaining the original purpose of the movement was that opinions changed with regard to the status of lesser media like pastel. There was now a more cogent recognition of the creative impetus generated as a result of allowing the material at hand to guide artistic vision. Indeed, all the reviews for the pastel exhibitions seemed to acknowledge the latter as a fundamental principle of creating a successful work of art. For example, a critic from *The Portfolio* reflected at the close of the first pastel exhibition that, 'the rock on which some of the pastellists split appears to be the mistaken attempt to force the chalk drawing into effects peculiar to oil or water-colour, instead of seeking the special excellencies of the dry method itself'.[49] This apparently obvious assertion acknowledged a move away from the widely-held belief that an artist should be in control of his medium at all times, making it yield to his personal style and not allowing its unique properties to overpower the work. Certainly, Ruskin, advocated an almost ascetic form of self-control over the artist's creative faculties or as he phrased it, in order to separate art from 'the loose, the lawless, the exaggerated, the insolent and the profane…over the doors of every school of Art, I would have this one word, relieved out in deep letters of pure gold, - Moderation.'[50] Yet, as the number

[49] 'Art Chronicle', *The Portfolio*, (1888), **19**, p.240.
[50] Ruskin, J., *Modern Painters*, (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1888), vol.1, p.85.

of artists using alternative media increased and initiatives like the Society of British Pastellists emerged, it was felt that there needed to be a greater appreciation of the strength and limitations of each material. This emphasis on formal properties was championed by Hamerton whose ideas have been referenced throughout this thesis. Crucially, he believed that, 'it is enough for a work of art to have the quality of its own order.'[51] The impact of this shift in perception is illustrated by the comments of the critic from *The Art Journal* who explained that,

> 'like each of the various arts, it [pastel] is in itself a little world – certainly in itself a mirror for the world; and a very gay, sudden, complete, but un-insistent vision is it that we see when the true pastellist holds up for us his mirror to nature; a world full of vigilant perceptions, delicate, yet free from scruples, and free – most conspicuously – from dullness.'[52]

By focusing on the characteristics that were innate to pastel, this review demonstrates how much the movement had contributed towards a better understanding not only of pastel but also of the significance of materiality for stylistic innovation.

Furthermore, such insightful and positive remarks are indicative of the way in which the reception of pastel works was reshaped following the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery. Critics were better informed and therefore more able to discuss pictures in this medium with regard to the artist's interaction with its formal properties and assess merit on this basis. The tone of these reviews contrasted sharply with the rhetoric of the recent past, when critics who were largely unfamiliar with pastel either ignored it completely or offered only the most superficial assessment of subject matter and level of finish. Thus, even though the number of opportunities to discuss the medium in

[51] Hamerton, 1882, p.46.
[52] 'The Grosvenor Pastels', *The Art Journal*, (Dec 1889), p.362.

greater depth was limited to solo shows, the dialogue surrounding the pastel movement continued to evolve. The review of Guthrie's exhibition at Dowdeswells' in December 1890 exemplifies an enhanced awareness that the works were 'as pastels should be, above all things suggestive. In scarcely any of them is there a superfluous line or a touch without a purpose.'[53] Of course, this is not to suggest that such an altered style of criticism owed its origins solely to the pastel movement. Indeed, the trend for pastel was just one of several strategies used by young artists to challenge existing artistic hierarchies and explore radically different working practices. As Rachel Teukolsky has recognised the novelty of these methods necessitated a new critical language that measured the ingenuity of the artist by means of his technical and stylistic affinity to the material at hand.[54] Consequently, the aim of the pastel movement, to demonstrate the medium's inherent properties for the purpose of finding new forms of expression was realised as part of the wider advance of modern art practices and the manner in which they were discussed in the press.

Indeed, the public reception of these works not only stimulated interest in pastel it also recognised the extent of innovation for which it was directly responsible. David Peters Corbett has argued convincingly that central to what can be defined as modern is the process by which art is made. He states that 'if works of art do *mean* in culture, then they must surely do so through the physical characteristics that are unique to them as objects.'[55] Therefore, visual analysis must always be reinforced by consideration of the material components of the picture and in particular how their coalescence, in this

[53] 'Fine Arts – Messrs. Dowdeswell's Gallery', *The Graphic*, (13 Dec 1890), p.10.
[54] Teukolsky, R., *The Literate Eye: Victorian Art Writing and Modern Aesthetics*, (Oxford: OUP, 2009), pp.104-120.
[55] Peters Corbett, David, 2004, p.13.

case pastel and paper, can create diverse, exciting and challenging works. The importance of facture has been further championed by Steve Edwards who has recently drawn attention to the vital 'tension [which exists] between the means and the topics depicted, between surface and subject'.[56] Thus, the connection between materiality and modernity helps to substantiate the argument that the pastel movement was short-lived because it was a modern art phenomenon. At the same time, this status suggests that there was a prolonged legacy for the pastel movement that calls into question the extent to which it was truly transient.

Visibility

The apparent transience of the pastel revival is underpinned by notions of visibility and fashion. Objects which proclaim the newness of the latest vogue in art must be seen and able to be seen and purchased in a constant process of renewal. As soon as the pastel movement was deprived of its exhibition space, following the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890, it lacked the means to remain at the forefront of public consciousness. More importantly, the three consecutive pastel shows had given the impression of an evolving trend which was confirmed by repetition and therefore expected to be self-sustaining. Indeed, the gallery's nurturing role in the resurgence of pastel was appreciated by reviewers who bemoaned its passing, with one stating that 'it is sad to contemplate the collapse of an institution which, in spite of a certain pose and not a little affectation, has yet conferred a lasting benefit upon British Art.'[57]

[56] Edwards, S. and Wood, P., *Art and Visual Culture, 1850-2010: Modernity to Globalisation,* (London: Tate Publishing, 2012), p.9.
[57] 'Art in December - Recent Exhibitions', *The Magazine of Art*, (Jan 1891), p.9.

The eclectic display policy of the Grosvenor Gallery nevertheless recognised the importance of the selection and arrangement of works. This is confirmed by a previously cited quotation regarding the second show, in which a critic noted how, 'the effect of the galleries is distinctly pleasing. Each picture keeps its place with a modesty that is unusual in British picture exhibitions'.[58] Without complete records of sales, however, it is impossible to say how successful these strategies were for encouraging purchases of contemporary pastels. Although individual accounts such as those kept by Stott reveal that most sales were made independently of these shows.[59] Paradoxically then, by creating a space where pastel could be seen as a significant modern art form, the Grosvenor Gallery had necessarily underplayed the commercial aspect of the display. Certainly, Denney has argued that this was a feature that defined all the Grosvenor Gallery ventures and was a contributory factor in its eventual closure.[60]

This is supported by the fact that immediately prior to the 1890 show, Lindsay issued a notice to several newspapers announcing that he was being forced to close the Grosvenor Gallery because as he explained, 'I am no longer able to carry on the yearly exhibition of works of art in these galleries on account of the heavy loss it entails on my resources'.[61] As the final show, it is likely that Lindsay was determined to make it befitting of the legacy he had created at the Grosvenor Gallery. Certainly, many critics were mindful in their reviews that this was the swan song of an institution that had changed the face of contemporary British art. For example, *The Athenaeum* noted

[58] 'Pastels at the Grosvenor Gallery', *Glasgow Herald*, (15 Oct 1889), p.8.
[59] Stott, MS, 1896.
[60] Casteras and Denney, 1996, p.17.
[61] Lindsay, C., 'To the Editor of the Times', *The Times*, (24 Oct 1890), p.6.

that ‘if this is indeed the last exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery it is only right to express our sincere regret and to acknowledge gratefully the debt the art-loving world owes to Sir Coutts Lindsay and his coadjutors for the instruction and pleasure it has derived from the exhibitions.’[62] The sense of loss and uncertainty about the future of pastel art in Britain permeated many of the reviews. Some offered a cautious note of optimism including one critic who stated, ‘the art of drawing in Pastels is, without doubt, a most beautiful and fascinating one, and when the doors of the Grosvenor shall be open no more to them it is to be hoped that another home will be found for such an exhibition as the past two years have taught us to love.’[63] However, no suitable replacement for the Grosvenor Gallery could be located and as a result the Society of British Pastellists disbanded after only one year.

The curtailment of the infrastructure which allowed for unprecedented public access to pastel works immediately added to the impression that this was a short-lived phenomenon. Thus, after the group lost its collective exhibition space at the Grosvenor Gallery the promotion of these works fell to individual artists. As has been shown elsewhere in this thesis, this meant that the public display of pastels was largely confined to solo-shows or retrospectives. This was problematic in that as these artists matured or died, the opportunities to exhibit their pastels diminished. Certainly, for Armstrong, Clausen and Guthrie their use of pastel declined after 1890 as their fervour for youthful experiment waned. Stott’s untimely death in 1900 also meant that his contribution towards the development of a highly original pastel style was quickly

[62] ‘The Grosvenor Gallery, Exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists,’ *The Athenaeum*, (25 Oct 1890), no.3287, p.553.
[63] ‘From our London Correspondent’, *The Lancashire Evening Post*, (21 Oct 1890), p.2.

forgotten. However, the declining reputations of some of the pastel artists as pioneers of innovative artistic styles and trends was only part of the problem when it came to the continuing display of these works. This was also contingent upon the ownership of the pieces. Both Stott and Guthrie listed some rudimentary details on the provenance of their pastels during their lifetimes and these indicate that many of their works were sold to patrons or family members. From Stott's notebook, compiled prior to his 1896 retrospective, it is possible to see that of the 59 pastels recorded only fourteen were listed as being in private hands.[64] This number rose considerably following the artist's death as can be seen from the catalogues for two memorial exhibitions held in Manchester in January and February 1902 respectively in which nine of the pastels previously unsold were now recorded as loaned works.[65] In addition, the January 1902 catalogue is annotated by Stott's widow with details about sales achieved in the course of that exhibition. Yet, following these shows, many of the pieces were rarely seen again until they were sold or gifted to public collections.

Similarly, nearly all of Guthrie's pastels were sold to private collectors after his 1891 exhibition in Glasgow.[66] This meant that he was entirely reliant on the owners of his work to submit the pieces for exhibition. Some pastels such as *A River Bank*, 1888 [fig.88] which was sold in 2015 had only been exhibited twice since it was first purchased in 1889.[67] In another case two of his pastels were taken to New Zealand by

[64] Stott, MS, 1896; See Appendix D.
[65] 'Special Exhibition of Pictures by the late William Stott of Oldham' [exh.cat.], Manchester Corporation Galleries, (11th-31st Jan, 1902); 'Pictures by William Stott of Oldham', [exh.cat.], Manchester Arts Club, (Feb-March 1902) both held in the private collection of Stott's descendants. See Appendix D.
[66] Caw, 1932, pp.233-5; See Appendix D.
[67] The Scottish Sale, Bonhams, Edinburgh, (15 April 2015), Sale 22762, Lot.33.

the Hay family where they remained in private hands until they were gifted to the Aigantighe Art Gallery in Timaru.[68] Whilst this is an inevitable consequence of selling works on the art market, it does offer an explanation as to why the trend for pastel appeared to vanish from view almost as quickly as it had come into existence. With only a relatively small sample of the works that were produced during the pastel revival available for study in public collections, this also hints at one of the reasons why scholars have failed to recognise the scale and significance of this movement in terms of the development of modern art practices at this time.

In addition, the scant regard of some scholars for pastel as a modern medium can be attributed to their belief that there was no feeling for avant-gardism in Britain. For example, Charles Harrison has argued that English art was utterly inauspicious in terms of its expression of modern experience and aesthetic.[69] Certainly, British artists did not actively pursue the depiction of contemporary, urban subject matter with the same fervent air of radicalism as some of their French counterparts. Furthermore, their approaches to new techniques were often disparate. As seen with pastel, some embraced a rapid, expressive style whilst others preferred a more measured form of aestheticism. The exclusion of British art from the modern canon has slowly been addressed through the careful re-examination of certain pioneering individuals and artistic movements, and their relationship to those hallmarks of the modern such as challenging the status quo as well as a greater emphasis on materiality and spontaneity. Art historical studies usually dedicate the main thrust of their arguments towards the

[68] Information supplied by Aigantighe Art Gallery Intern Debra Lustig in email correspondence dating from 7 April 2015 to 17 April 2015.
[69] Harrison, C., 1999, Modernism and 'Englishness' revisited. *Modernism/Modernity*, **6**;1, p.79.

more substantial painted oeuvres of artists and consequently treat the occasional use of pastel as an inconvenient distraction from the main narrative. This is certainly true of the monograph published in 2000 about Armstrong and the study of Clausen's images of English rural life from 2012.[70] Recent scholarship has then by virtue of its disregard, inadvertently confirmed contemporary opinion that the declining visibility of the oeuvre and its inevitable dispersal into private collections rendered the pastel movement inconsequential. My thesis has exposed the transient nature of this phenomenon but strongly contests the idea that it lacked long-term significance. Indeed, despite assumptions about amateurism and fashion undermining its status, the resonance of the pastel revival continued to be felt long after its apparent demise in 1890.

Conclusion

The late nineteenth-century pastel revival burned so brightly that after only a decade it was all but extinguished. This was not the result of a single determining factor such as bad press or the shifting priorities of some of its most celebrated proponents. Rather it was short-lived because as a modern art trend, it was allied to the new, the original, and the contemporaneous and when it ceased to be such, the movement which lacked a single unifying focus, simply disbanded. Yet, the effects of this short but no less significant movement continued to be felt for many years after it had lost its main impetus. Both the originality of the works produced at this time and the changes pastel effected in the artistic practices of those involved, serve as lasting reminders of how pastel was transformed into a modern medium. However, it was this change in status

[70] Cook, [et al.], 2000, p.93; McConkey, 2012.

that would determine how the movement was treated in subsequent historical reviews of art. As British art was believed to be devoid of avant-garde ambition, the efforts of a younger generation of artists to experiment with new materials, techniques and artistic styles were rarely afforded the same level of attention given to their Continental counterparts. Consequently, the significance of the British pastel revival was given a low priority even in those studies seeking to rectify this inequity. Furthermore, the neglect of pastel was exacerbated by a relative lack of information pertaining to the size and scope of the movement, the atypical appearance of the works in some of the artists' oeuvres and the fact that many artists used it only for a relatively short time. Viewed collectively this has intensified the perception that pastel was an inherently transient art form that had limited impact on the direction of contemporary art. Yet, after reconsidering all of the reasons why it was and has continued to be seen as a peripheral trend in the course of late nineteenth-century artistic culture, it is evident that this is inexorably intertwined with its position vis-à-vis modern artistic development in Britain.

Conclusion

The mood of excitement and sensation generated by the staging of the three pastel shows at the Grosvenor Gallery is here referenced by the art critic D. S. MacColl.

> 'The exhibition fever in pastel produced some astonishing work at its height. No medium is a better feverish subject. Biting greens, lurid mauves, the stroke like the cut of a whip, the patch like a slap in the face, collision-like drawing, explosive tone, are all offered in the box where colours lie like the keys of a huge piano.'[1]

His celebration of the pastel revival's glory days forms part of his review of the lacklustre inaugural exhibition of the Pastel Society in February 1899. What concerns him is the marked contrast between past and present. His recognition of pastels' potential for producing works which were strikingly innovative both visually and materially supports my assertion that the 1880s pastel movement transformed the reputation of the medium. Prior to this period, pastel had been perceived as a marginal and largely forgotten art form in Britain incapable of producing powerful effects or the level of finish required for full-scale, stand-alone artworks. It has been my contention throughout this thesis that the status of pastel as a lesser medium made it attractive to a generation of young artists who were seeking to challenge established artistic hierarchies by adopting new means of expression. Of course it was not sufficient for an artist simply to adopt an obscure medium in order to align his or her practice with avant-garde artistic developments. This was not a revival in the sense that the artists copied styles and techniques that had been used in the past. Instead they advocated a greater understanding of the essential properties of the medium itself as the basis for innovation. It is clear that MacColl's vivid sensory evocation of pastel echoes the

[1] MacColl, D. S., 'The Pastel Society', *The Saturday Review*, (11 Feb 1899), p.171.

language of Whistler, Hamerton and Moore who all argued that the medium was akin to an instrument that when used in a new way could produce work that was distinctly modern.[2]

The experience of my four chosen artists, Clausen, Armstrong, Stott and Guthrie with the pastel medium has been discussed with reference to their understanding and interpretation of this fundamental theory about the nature of art and art making. Primarily, this has been achieved by a close, technical analysis of the pastel works themselves viewed within the context of the artists' wider oeuvres and the pastel styles of their immediate predecessors and contemporaries. In the case of Clausen, this has revealed that his use of pastel afforded him the opportunity for relatively conventional and moderate creative invention. So, for example his pastel portraits of the model Rose Grimsdale, *Head of a Young Girl,* 1889 and *Little Rose*, 1889 considered in chapters two and three, demonstrate that Clausen was able to employ a brighter palette, a sketchier style and more expressive use of line than in his painted works. These pictures also show his appreciation of the pure, unadulterated colours that were available in pastel which could be applied directly with a hatched, draughtsman-like touch. Although this was a new aspect within Clausen's art, it did not represent a particularly inventive technical use of the medium. He had used pastel as a colouring and sketching medium since the late 1870s and these pieces can be seen as a natural extension of this practice. Indeed, the fact that he continued to use it as a means for trying out new compositional ideas supports this assertion. Armstrong, by contrast adopted an eclectic approach that included oil paint, etching, watercolour and pastel to

[2] Whistler's Ten o'clock Lecture, 1885; Hamerton, 1882, p.3; Moore, 1893, p.60.

create a style that included elements learned from each discipline. Thus, *Oranges and Lemons,* 1889 cogently demonstrates the way in which her mixed-media stance informs a pastel work as she employs dense areas of hatching akin to an etching with the level of finish of a painted piece. Consequently, whilst her pastels are technically ambitious they are not derived from an affinity with the unique properties of this medium. By contrast, Guthrie and Stott's pastels can be seen as distinctly innovative both for the artist and medium alike. Whilst their approach to pastel differed fundamentally, it was marked by the same desire to match creative vision with an appreciation of pastel's essential materiality. Guthrie deliberately used unworked paper as an integral part of his pastel art, whereas Stott sought always to cover the entire support with carefully worked layers of pastel tones in order to unite the different elements of his compositions across the entire picture surface.

Even though these artists' experience with pastel offers only a small cross-section of the 370 artists known to have experimented with the medium at this time, their varying appreciation of the possibilities and limitations of the medium is representative of the pastel movement as a whole. Indeed, close inspection of contemporary reviews of exhibitions either featuring or dedicated to pastels has revealed several noteworthy patterns. Most significant are the scale and diversity of the participants and their approaches. The only identified correlation between the contributors to the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibitions was that they were from the younger generation of artists working in Britain. Certainly, Clausen, Armstrong, Guthrie and Stott came from this broad demographic but each was from a different background, affiliated to different stylistic movements, lived and worked in a different area and used pastel in his or her

own way. Despite the somewhat disparate nature of the contemporary art scene in Britain, these artists were connected by age, influences and shared professional experiences. As has been shown, the bonds between them were very tangible. Stott and Armstrong were followers of Whistler. Stott enjoyed close friendships with Dow, Lavery and Roche, whose membership of the Glasgow Boys' group renders it likely that they would have introduced Stott to their confrère, Guthrie. Clausen too had exhibited in Glasgow, wrote articles for the Boys' short-lived journal, *The Scottish Art Review* and advocated that the group should exhibit in London. All four artists were members of the NEAC and contributed to the annual exhibitions.[3] Such links served to propagate the trend for pastel amongst this community of artists and though they were not united by a single approach to the medium, their works were collectively seen as offering a new direction for this art form. In fact, the identification of the pastel movement as novel was another common feature of the reviews. It was repeatedly asserted that the first large-scale show dedicated to contemporary pastels in 1888 marked the beginning of a new chapter for this neglected art form and the works were often discussed in terms of their originality in style and use of the medium. It has been shown that the association of pastel with both the younger generation of artists and notions of fashion and innovation served to frame the trend as a notable example of modern artistic developments in Britain.

Inevitably, this had both positive and negative implications for how contemporary pastels were received. Some critics found these works alien and because they lacked a technical vocabulary to describe and appreciate pastel, reverted instead to historic

[3] Catalogues of the New English Art Club, 1886-1890, Tate Britain, London, Acc. No. 20067/5/1-2.

examples of the art form as a point of comparison. This effectively short-circuited the analytical process because the late nineteenth-century works were deemed automatically inferior to their finely finished, painterly eighteenth-century predecessors. In addition, other critics demonstrated a xenophobic bias towards what they regarded as a French import into British art. Again, British pastel artists were compared unfavourably with their French counterparts and their perceived failings ascribed to the alien quality of the medium, the artworks themselves and the exhibitions designed to promote them. However, despite the weight of such adverse criticism, it is impossible to substantiate from my research that this contributed decisively to the imminent demise of the pastel trend. Throughout this thesis, I have sought to question the underlying factors which accounted for some of the negative press and to assess the true impact of these comments. What has emerged is the way in which many of the opinions about the ineptitude of British artists with the pastel medium originated from a preconceived dislike of the technical, stylistic and aesthetic transformations which were occurring in British art during this period. Unfamiliarity, strangeness and eccentricity were used as by-words for modern art practice. In this way, many of the hostile comments can be seen as a tacit recognition of the pioneering status of this project. This is not to overstate the case, as not all artists who adopted the medium had an equal level of technical competence and consequently their works were not of a similar standard. However, as critics often ignored the work of amateurs and singled out up-and-coming artists for their most acerbic remarks, it is possible to assert that critical bias against modern art practice clouded the judgement of many reviewers. If this fact is discernible from my reading of the reviews, then it is clear that it would have been apparent to a contemporary audience. Thus, in my estimation,

it is highly unlikely that British artists abandoned the medium as a direct result of the poor critical reception their works received when displayed at the Grosvenor Gallery.

Having discredited this theory, it has been necessary to explore alternative explanations for the relatively fleeting popularity of the medium. Indeed, the formation of a 'new' Pastel Society in 1898 prefaces the existence of a defunct predecessor. As has been explained, 1890 effectively marked the end of the pastel revival after a decade of exponential growth. Though some artists such as Stott and Clausen continued to use the medium as part of their artistic practice, the vast majority of artists ceased their experiments with it after this date. Thus, in the course of this research, I have considered technical ineptitude, lack of display opportunities, critical reception, gendered connotations, art market demands, conservation issues and diminished visibility of works in private collections as possible reasons for the collapse of an otherwise promising art movement. However, it is my belief that the closure of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1890 has to be regarded as pivotal. This was not just about the loss of a dedicated exhibition space which had become a forum for pastel art. It was also about the collateral damage caused by the loss of Sir Coutts Lindsay's considerable financial clout and personal promotion of the medium together with the consequent compromise of the Society of British Pastellists' professional credentials and the absolute removal of its *raison d'être*. At the same time, it is important to recognise that whilst the movement was short-lived, the experience of using the medium was no less significant for the technical and stylistic development of the artists involved. Taking my four chosen artists as examples, Clausen's palette brightened after his experiments with pastel and he gained a greater appreciation of the expressive

possibilities of densely applied line. Armstrong's work also appeared to benefit from a degree of dynamism not evident prior to her use of this medium. Caw acknowledged that Guthrie could not have achieved the impressionistic effects in his painting *Midsummer*, 1892 without his experience in pastel.[4] Whilst Stott's continued use of the medium until his death in 1900 confirms its place as an essential element in his creative practice. In this way, it is possible to state that pastel had a continued resonance that extended beyond the immediate scope of the movement designed to promote it. Furthermore, I have argued that the evolution of this trend, the diverse approaches it generated, its relatively brief existence combined with a visible long-term impact on subsequent artistic developments can be seen as analogous to other recognised modern art movements from this period.

In conclusion, the focus of this research has centred on tracing the connection between the modern reinvention of pastel and its perceived transience both as a medium and as an art trend. The case for works in pastel and the movement designed to promote them as being modern has been made from several different perspectives. So, for example the ambiguity of the medium which existed somewhere between line and colour, drawing and painting, sketch and finished piece, enabled artists to work in new ways. This effected changes not only on an individual basis but also in terms of the wider perception of pastel as an art form. When these works were collectively exhibited in a gallery which had pioneered some of the most avant-garde art in Britain, it challenged the audiences to broaden their understanding of the medium and what constituted a work of art. Both these aims could only be accomplished by

[4] Caw, 1908, p.368 and Caw, 1932, p.57.

acknowledging the range of technical possibilities that were unique to pastel and the role they had played in the creation of the finished piece. Indeed, the literature and critical reviews published to coincide with the growing popularity of pastel reiterate the importance of understanding the creative process. This formed part of a shift away from the positive reception of accurate and sympathetic, subject-based representation towards an appreciation of the materiality of modern artistic developments with regard to their surface texture, colour, immediacy and expression. Yet, the framing of pastel as a medium suited to a modern aesthetic meant that it was vulnerable within the context of a constantly evolving contemporary art scene. As artists' priorities changed, the fashion for pastel failed to keep pace and quickly dissipated. Its transience as an artistic phenomenon was made to appear even more acute by its cursory treatment in subsequent scholarship and the dispersal or loss of the works produced under its auspices. However, it is only by examining the means by which this widespread and dynamic movement disappeared from public memory that its contribution to contemporary artistic innovation can be fully appreciated. The brief resurgence of pastel was marked by experimentation aimed at using its intrinsic material properties to engage with the ephemeral and the modern.

Glossary of Terms

Aide-mémoire	A rapidly or partially drawn sketch made for recording a momentary impression, pose or scene that can be referred to at a later date.
Alum	Potassium Aluminium Sulphate when dissolved in water can be used as an agent to fix the loose pigment to the paper surface.
Amateur	(~) can refer to a lover of art from the French for love [*amour*]; (~) can refer to an artist who is not practising on a professional basis.
Base tone (types of)	(~) lead white – carbonate of lead used with other colours to create a bright, clear tone; (~) ochre – either red or yellow clay used with other colours to create a warm tone.
Binding (types of)	(~) gum – the sap extracted from certain plants; (~) resin – sticky substance secreted by firs and pines; (~) oil – could be a number of materials including linseed or coconut oil that were added to other binders to increase the viscosity and retard the drying process; (~) wax – paraffin wax could be added to the binder to make it more dense or viscose.
Boxing up	The process by which pastels were packed for the purpose of exhibition or sale.
Chalk	A soft white or whitish shade of limestone that can be pulverised and reformed into sticks or can be used in combination with other pigments to alter the shade.
Charcoal	Crumbly, black drawing medium made from intensely heated wood such as willow or vine.
Colourmen	Commercial dealers of art supplies.
Crayon	Any drawing material that has been made into stick form.
Dirtiness	An effect which makes the pastel appear murky or indistinct. This is usually caused by overworking the surface with too much pastel or by accidently smudging the surface with the hand.
Finish	The extent to which the entire paper surface has been covered in pastel and/or the level of refinement shown in the application of the pastel to the paper.
Fixative	A thin liquid formed from a glutinous substance such as resin dissolved in a solvent such as alcohol or turpentine. It was usually applied with a spray canister but it could also be brushed on. It was designed to adhere the pastel pigment to the page.
Frottage	A technique whereby paper is laid on a textured surface and a medium is rubbed over the paper allowing an impression of the texture to transfer to the page.

Graphic arts Refers to any of the various techniques with which two-dimensional artworks are made. This can include any technique that falls under the category of painting, drawing or printing.

Isinglass Isinglass is a substance obtained from the dried swim bladders of fish. It is a type of collagen and when combined with other ingredients it can be used as a glue to bind loose pastel pigment to the paper surface.

Lifting A conservation term referring to the lifting of pastel pigment from the paper surface as a result of a static charge from the glass.

Matting Thick card that forms a frame around the work preventing any transference of the medium onto another surface.

Paper (colours) (~) buff – a warm neutral shade made from equal parts yellow and red; (~) cream – any white that has been tinged with yellow. It provides a warm neutral shade; (~) china white – any white that has been tinged with black. It provides a cool tone; (~) blue – any shade ranging from violet to green on the spectrum. It can be lightened in tone by white or darkened by black. It is the most volatile of the paper shades; (~) brown – made from a combination of all colours on the spectrum. It is warm in tone and provides a neutral base for other colours. It can be lightened by adding white or darkened by using black.

Paper (types of) (~) rag – rag or cotton paper is made from pulped scraps of cotton fibres. It is favoured for its strength and stability of the colour; (~) Japanese – made using gampi or mulberry pulp. It is favoured for the strength of the long fibres, translucent quality of the paper and smooth surface; (~) parcel – coarse brown paper made from chipped wood pulp. It has one particularly rough side and one smoother side. It is cheap and available in a variety of widths; (~) tracing – made using cellulose fibres extracted from pulped wood. It is usually smooth, light and has a higher opacity than other paper; (~) laid – paper made using single-sheet moulds that have a sieved surface. These are dipped into linen pulp and then the water is allowed to drain away leaving a distinctive ribbed surface; (~) wove – made in the same way as laid paper except the wires of the sieve form a fine mesh so that the paper has a smooth, uniform surface; (~) sand – generic term for paper that has an abrasive surface. This is made by bonding finely crushed pumice stone or glass to the paper surface.

Paper loss Term used in conservation to refer to the loss of an area of paper on which the pastel has been completed. This can be caused by damp, tears, reframing and deterioration of the integrity of the paper fibre.

Pastel A type of colour drawing medium usually formed into a stick-shape made from ground pigment which is bound together by some form of agent such as gum, resin or oil.

Pastel (types of) (~) soft – are made using more pigment and less binder so that they are purer in colour and crumblier in texture. They can be easily blended; (~) hard – are made using more binder and less pigment and can be easily sharpened for areas of fine detail. They come in a limited number of shades; (~) oily – are made using a non-drying binder such as paraffin wax so that the colour can be applied almost as paste.

Pigment A finely ground colouring material that can be combined or suspended in another medium. Pigments can be derived from organic and inorganic sources. Those that are most highly prized are stable when subjected to light exposure and humidity.

Plein-air Any artistic work that is made outdoors. Usually characterised by looser handling, spontaneity and a special interest in atmospheric effects.

Preparatory drawing A drawing that is made in advance of creating a finished artwork. It is designed to fix the arrangement and composition elements and can be both loosely or finely rendered. Sometimes artists will use guide or squaring up lines to scale up a preparatory drawing.

Rubbed surface (~) this can be a technical means of blending the pastel pigment with the finger. This sometimes transfers natural oils from the hand creating a glassy appearance to the pastel; (~) can also refer to a means by which pastel pigment is lost from the surface over time.

Sfumato From the Italian for smoke [*fumo*] a technique whereby colours and tones are very finely blended together to such an extent that they appear to melt into one another.

Sketch A rapidly rendered drawing that is expressive and used as part of the creative process. It is characteristically unfinished.

Soft bloom Unadulterated application of soft pastel to the paper surface so that the pigment only just adheres without pressing or rubbing. This makes it appear light and luminous but is fragile if it is not fixed

Stippling A process by which the pastel sticks are sharpened into a fine point and the pastel is applied in very fine dots or lines. Light and shade are rendered by varying the density of dots. This creates a smooth and refined surface but it was criticised for being too labour intensive and lacking in expression.

Stump A piece of rolled leather, felt or paper that is tapered at one or both ends used for blending pigment on the paper surface.

Stump technique This technique involves blending the pastel tones on the paper surface with the aid of a stump to eliminate strong contrasts and a particularly linear appearance. This makes for a very subtle and refined appearance but was criticised for the lack of skill required.

Surface loss Term used in conservation to refer to any loss of the surface material from the ground through lifting, chipping or rubbing.

Toothing	This refers to the coarseness of any surface to which pastel is applied and how easily it adheres to that surface. A ground that has a lot of toothing would be seen to take and hold the pigment more effectively than a smooth surface.
Treatise	A written piece of work that deals formally and systematically with any subject.
Washing (pastel)	(~) can refer to soaking the pastel sticks in a solution to make them crumblier or to bleach out the intensity of the colour. This technique was used by Degas; (~) conservation technique that removes dirt from the pastel surface by a brushing process.
Works on paper	Collective term for any artwork made on paper. This includes but is not limited to pastels, pencil drawings, prints and watercolour.

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The revival of pastel in late nineteenth-century Britain: the transience of a modern medium

Freya Spoor

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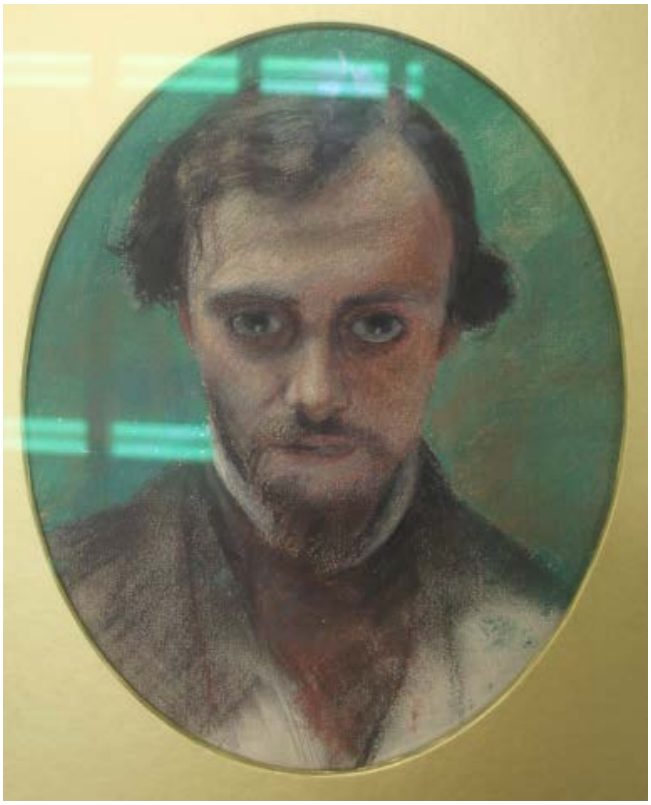

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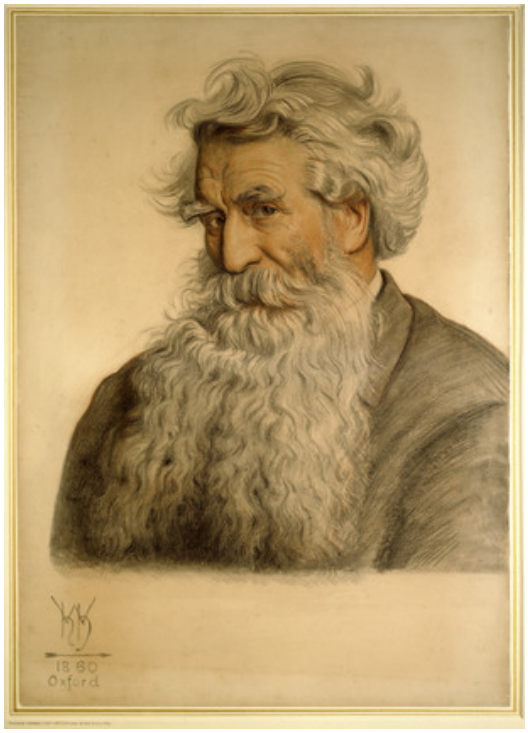

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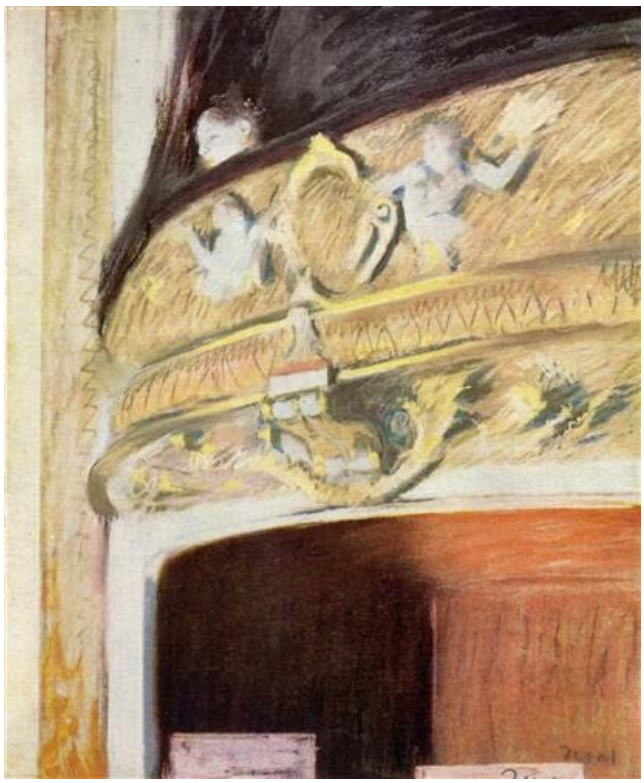

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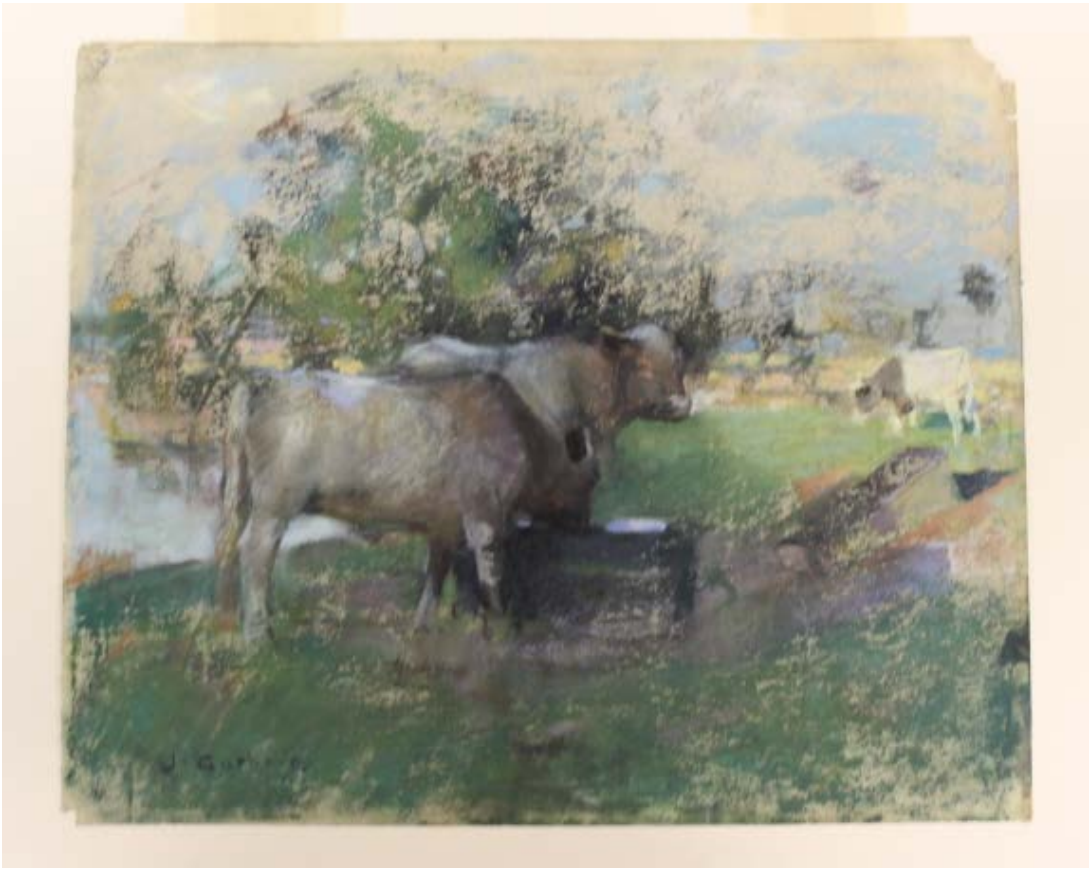

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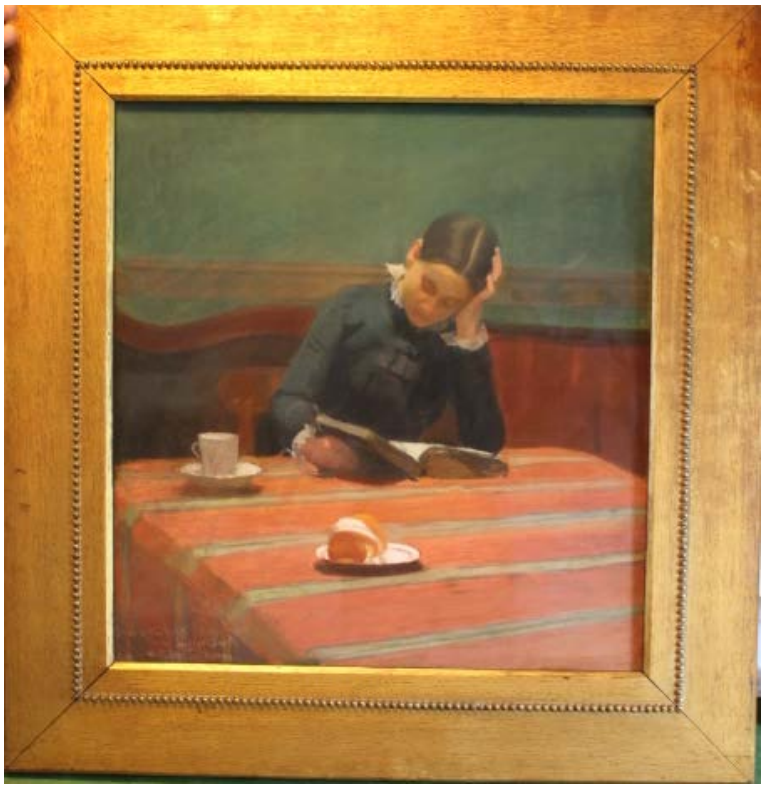

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Fig.52 – George Clausen, *Sketch for Girl Lying in the Hay*, c1891, pastel on paper, 24.2 x 34.1cm, Royal Academy of Arts

Fig.53 – George Clausen, *Head of a Young Girl*, 1889, pastel on paper, 34.3 x 23.5 cm, private collection

Fig.54 – George Clausen, Little Rose, 1889, pastel on paper, 48.3 x 33 cm, private collection

Fig.55 – George Clausen, *Brown Eyes*, 1891, oil on canvas, 55.9 x 41.3 cm, Tate Britain, London

Fig.56 – James Guthrie, *A Young Lady*, 1886, pastel on paper, 37.5 x 36 cm, private collection

Fig.57 – James Guthrie, *Study of a Young Girl's Head*, 1888, pastel on paper, 44 x 38 cm, Aigantighe Art Gallery, New Zealand

Fig.58 – James Guthrie, *Portrait of the Artist's Mother, Ann Orr*, 1893, oil on canvas, 92 x 72 cm, Scottish National Galleries

Fig.59 – William Stott, *Maud in a Rocking Chair*, 1886, (detail) pastel on paper, 52 x 43.8 cm, Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow

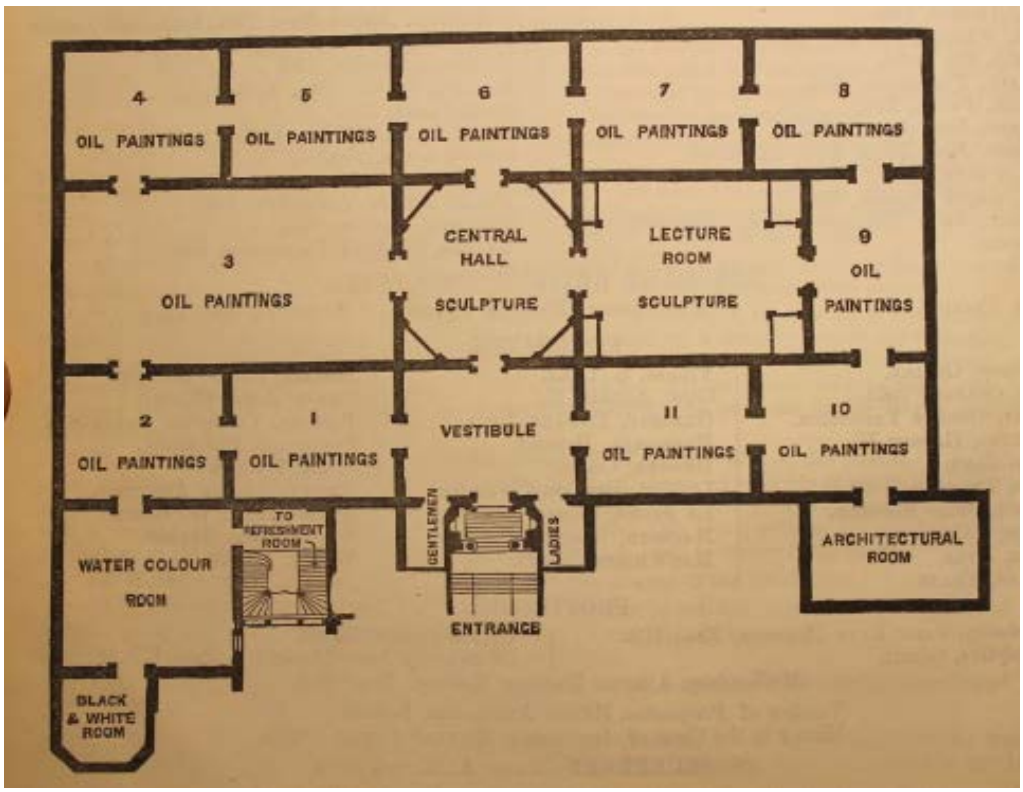


Fig.60 – Floor Plan of the Royal Academy


Fig.61 – William Stott, By the Fireside, 1884, pastel on paper, 24.4 x 54.6 cm, private collection

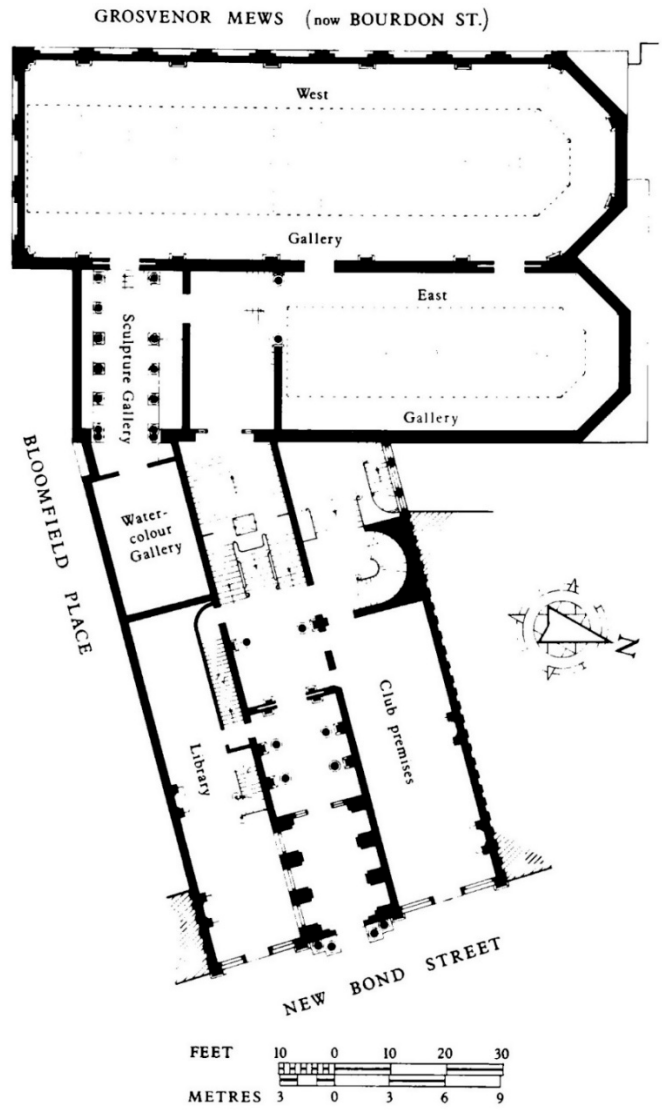


Fig.62 – Floor Plan of the Grosvenor Gallery

Fig. 63 – William Stott, *White Rhododendrons*, 1886, pastel and body colour, 45.7 x 53.3cm, private collection

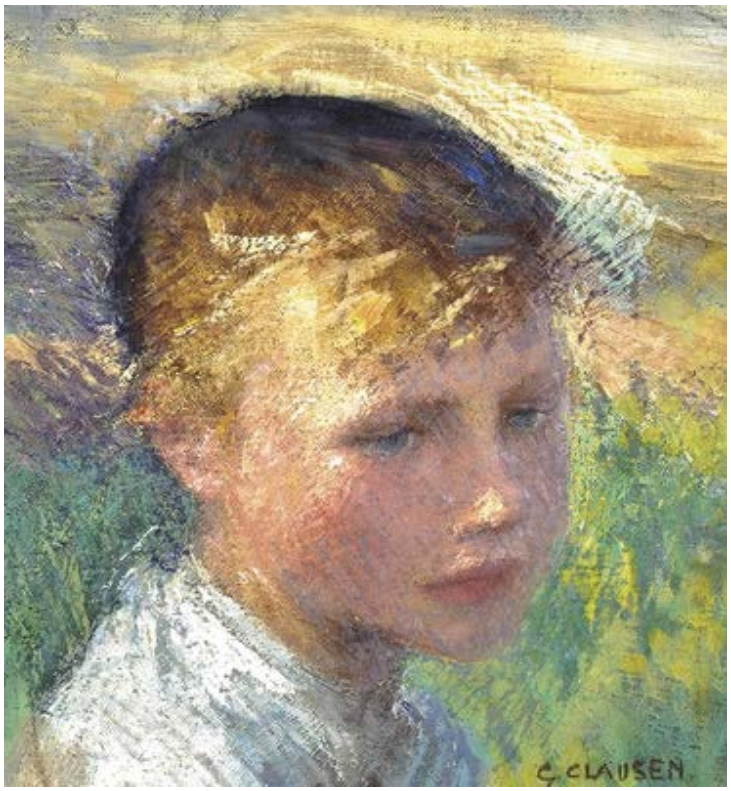
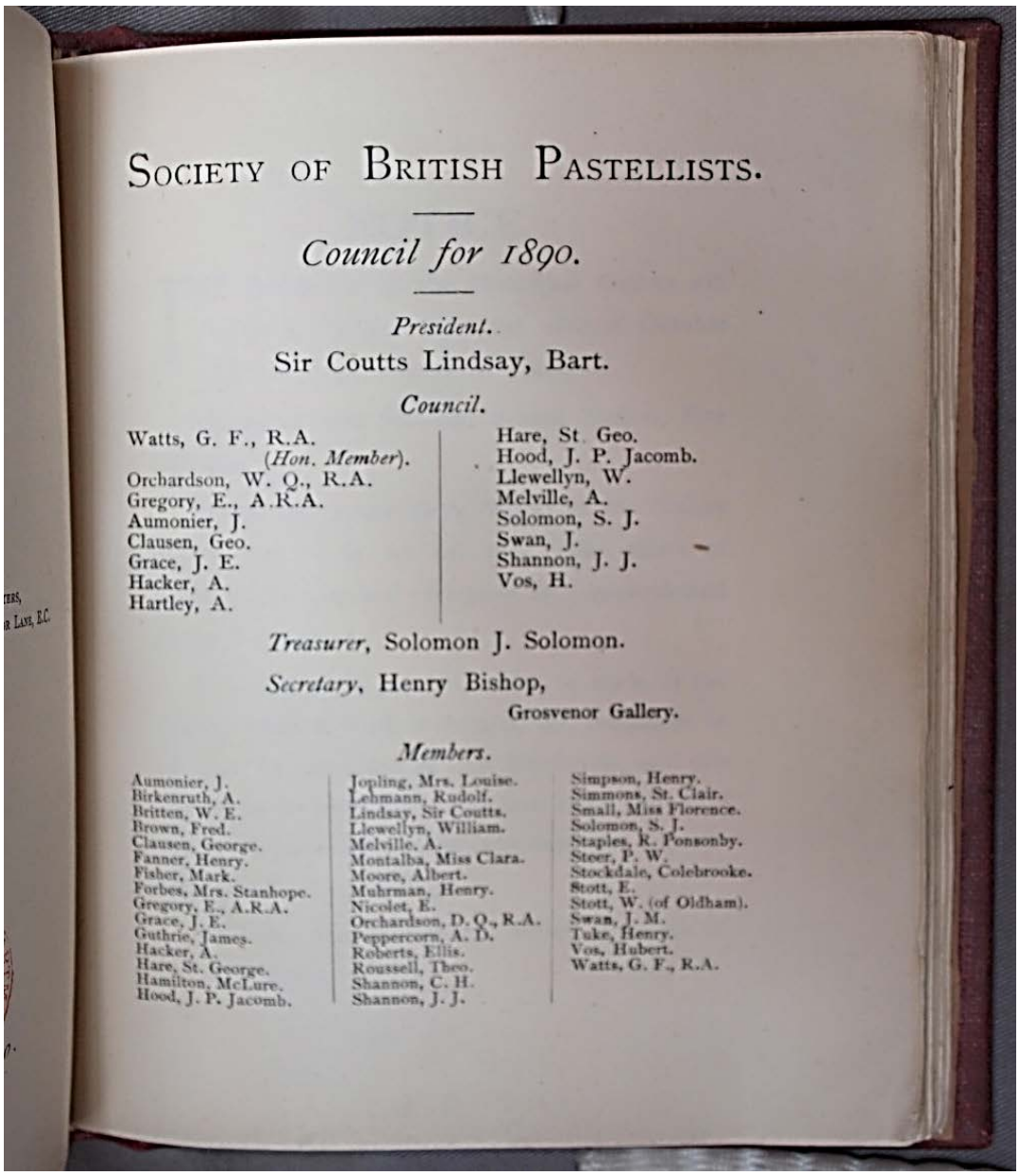


Fig.64 – Clausen, *Portrait of a Child*, c1888, pastel on paper, private collection

Fig.65 – William Stott, *The Eiger*, 1888, pastel on paper, 43.2 x 50.8 cm, Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow



Society of British Pastellists.

Council for 1890.

President.

Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart.

Council.

Watts, G. F., R.A. (*Hon. Member*).
Orchardson, W. Q., R.A.
Gregory, E., A.R.A.
Aumonier, J.
Clausen, Geo.
Grace, J. E.
Hacker, A.
Hartley, A.
Hare, St. Geo.
Hood, J. P. Jacomb.
Llewellyn, W.
Melville, A.
Solomon, S. J.
Swan, J.
Shannon, J. J.
Vos, H.

Treasurer, Solomon J. Solomon.

Secretary, Henry Bishop,
Grosvenor Gallery.

Members.

Aumonier, J.
Birkenruth, A.
Britten, W. E.
Brown, Fred.
Clausen, George.
Fanner, Henry.
Fisher, Mark.
Forbes, Mrs. Stanhope.
Gregory, E., A.R.A.
Grace, J. E.
Guthrie, James.
Hacker, A.
Hare, St. George.
Hamilton, McLure.
Hood, J. P. Jacomb.
Jopling, Mrs. Louise.
Lehmann, Rudolf.
Lindsay, Sir Coutts.
Llewellyn, William.
Melville, A.
Montalba, Miss Clara.
Moore, Albert.
Muhrman, Henry.
Nicolet, E.
Orchardson, D. Q., R.A.
Peppercorn, A. D.
Roberts, Ellis.
Roussell, Theo.
Shannon, C. H.
Shannon, J. J.
Simpson, Henry.
Simmons, St. Clair.
Small, Miss Florence.
Solomon, S. J.
Staples, R. Ponsonby.
Steer, P. W.
Stockdale, Colebrooke.
Stott, E.
Stott, W. (of Oldham).
Swan, J. M.
Tuke, Henry.
Vos, Hubert.
Watts, G. F., R.A.

Fig.66 – First Page of the Society of British Pastellists catalogue, 1890

Fig.67 – Edgar Degas, *Danseuse Verte*, 1879, pastel and gouache on paper, 66 x 36 cm, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid

Fig.68 – James McNeill Whistler, *Red and Rose: The Little Pink Cap*, c1889-90, chalk and pastel on paper, 27.8 x 18.2cm, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC

Fig.69 – William Stott, *Amethyst Cloud - Jungfrau*, 1888, oil on canvas, 91.4 x 152.4 cm, Kirkcaldy Art Gallery

Fig.70 – William Stott, *A Freshet*, c.1888-9, pastel on paper, 47 x 74.9 cm, Oldham Gallery

Fig.71 – CK, 'Encouraging', *Punch, or the London Charivari*, (31 May 1879), p.243

Fig.72 – 'Chalk it up', *London Serio-Comic*, 1890

Fig.73 – Elizabeth Armstrong, *"The Maids were in the Garden Hanging out the Clothes",* c1888, pastel on paper, (rpr. from auction catalogue), 71.1 x 96.5 cm, private collection

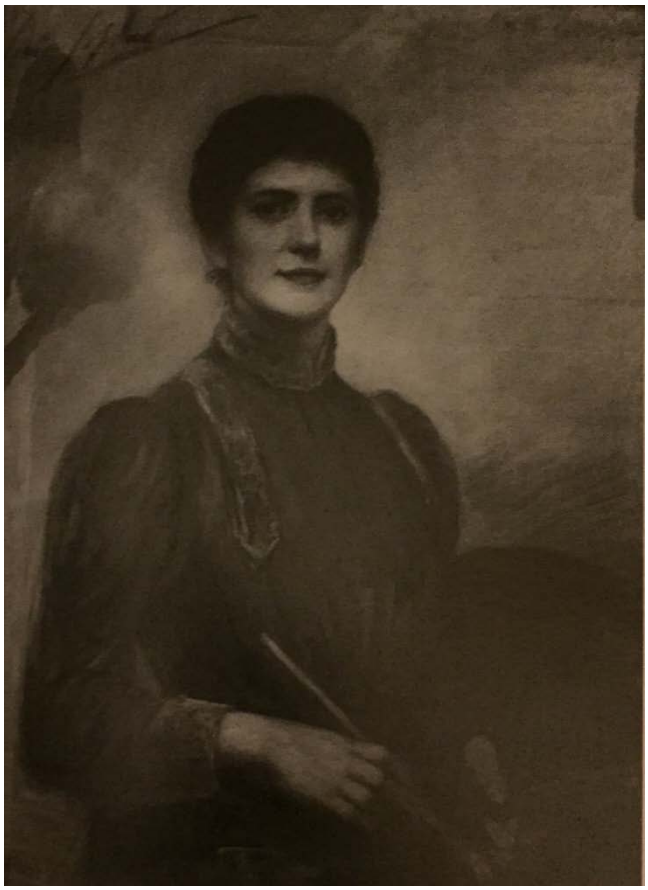


Fig.74 – Louise Jopling (1843-1933), *Portrait of the Artist*, 1888, pastel on paper, 89.6 x 70 cm, private collection, (only reproducible in black and white for the purposes of this thesis).

Fig.75 – Louise Jopling, *Miss Mabel Collins*, 1887, photogravure after original, rpr. in Jopling, *Twenty Years of my Life*, 1926, p.278

Fig.76 – Elizabeth Armstrong, *Cuckoo*, c1887, pastel on paper, 43.2 x 30.5 cm, (rpr. in body colour by the artist, in Walter Shaw-Sparrow, *Women Painters of the World*, (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905), p.147, private collection

Fig.77 – Sidney Starr (1857-1925), *At the Café Royal*, 1888, pastel on canvas, 61 x 50.8 cm, private collection

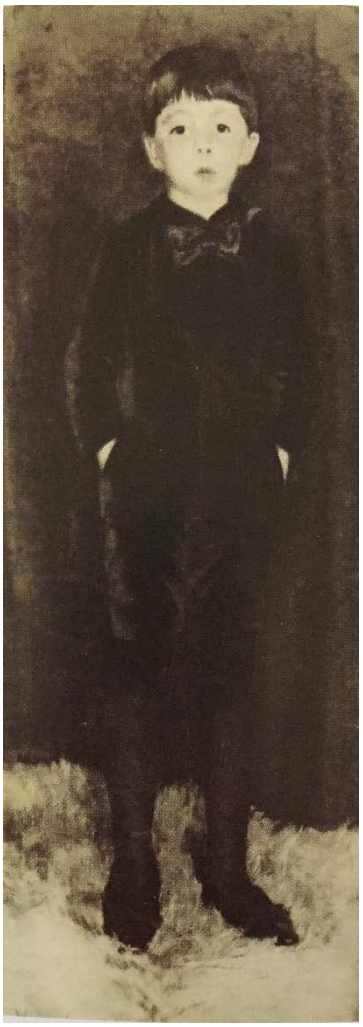


Fig.78 – William Stott, *Sketch for untraced pastel Portrait of Millie Dow Stott*, c1890, charcoal on paper, 62.2 x 22.2 cm, Manchester Art Gallery

Fig.79 – James Guthrie, *Midday*, 1890, pastel on paper, 28.5 x 25.1 cm, Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow

Fig.80 – James Guthrie, *Candlelight*, 1890, pastel on paper, 42.5 x 51.5 cm, private collection

Fig.81 – Elizabeth Armstrong, *Harvest Moon*, c.1901, oil on canvas, 50 x 68.5cm, private collection

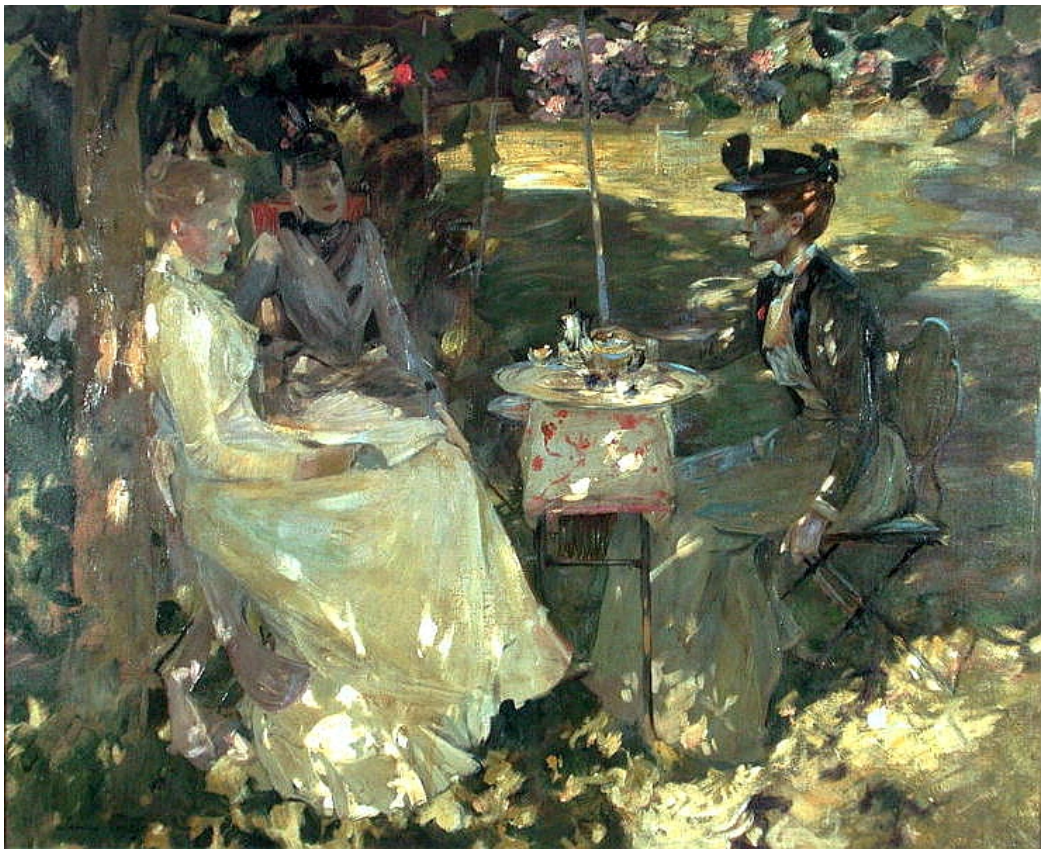


Fig.82 – James Guthrie, *Midsummer*, 1892, oil on canvas, 99 x 124.5 cm, Royal Scottish Academy, Edinburgh

Fig.83 – George Clausen, *Study for The Dark Barn*, 1900, pastel on paper, 24.4 x 18.1 cm, Royal Academy

Fig. 84 – George Clausen, *Dusk*, 1903, oil on canvas, 62.2 x 73.7 cm, Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle

Fig.85 – William Stott, *S.S. Umbria*, 1897, pastel on paper, 31.7 x 38.1 cm, private collection

Fig.86 – William Stott, *Wake of a Ship*, 1896, pastel on paper, 24.1 x 31.7 cm, private collection

Fig.87 – William Stott, *Sparkling Sea*, 1884, pastel on paper, 24.1 x 31.7 cm, private collection


Fig.88 – James Guthrie, *The River Bank*, 1888, pastel on paper, 22.5 x 29 cm, private collection

Appendices A-C Explanatory Note

Appendices A-C have been composed using the three extant Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition catalogues held at the National Art Library, London.

Appendix A – First Pastel Show, 1888
The Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street
Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart., Proprietor

Appendix B – Second Pastel Show, 1889
The Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street
Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart., Proprietor

Appendix C – First Exhibition of the Society of British Pastellists, 1890
The Grosvenor Gallery, New Bond Street
President – Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart.

The dates for the British artists have been sourced from:

Johnson, J., and Robin, A. Gruetzner, *The Dictionary of British Artists, 1880-1940*, (Woodbridge: Antique Collectors Club, 1976)

Affiliations have been identified by cross checking artists' names with membership information contained in:

New English Art Club past members, Tate Archive, London, acc.no. TGA20067/3/1

Front matter from SBA catalogues, 1882-6, book 7, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/4/ and 1886-9, book 8, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/42, V&A Archive, Blythe House, London

Société de Pastellistes Français members are listed with their affiliation in the First Pastel Show, 1888 catalogue

Please note that there are some inconsistencies with the spelling of certain artists' names and addresses. These have been transcribed verbatim.

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
5	1	West	Anna Bilinska	Highlander of the Carpathians	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue de Fleurin, Paris	
5	2	West	J. Buxton Knight	On the Parade, Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
6	3	West	J. L. Machard	Portrait	1839-1900	M	French	87 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
6	4	West	J. McNeill Whistler	Venice	1834-1903	M	American	Tower House, Tite Street, Chelsea	SBA
6	5	West	J. J. Shannon	Mary	1862-1923	M	American	Alexander Studios, 296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
6	6	West	Léon Lhermitte	Confirmation Day	1844-1925	M	French	19 Rue Vanquelin, Paris	SPF
6	7	West	J. Buxton Knight	On the Parade, Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
6	8	West	J. J. Shannon	Edra	1862-1923	M	American	Alexander Studios, 296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
7	9	West	Percy Bigland	Mrs Cohen	1858-1926	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, London	NEAC, GG
7	10	West	J. Buxton Knight	The East Cliff, Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
7	11	West	Anna Bilinska	Young Polish Girl	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue de Fleurin, Paris	
7	12	West	Hubert Vos	Portrait of Mdlle de Staal	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA
7	13	West	J. Aumonier	On the Sussex Downs	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	GG
7	14	West	G. Dubufe	Study of a Child's Head	1853-1909	M	French		SPF
8	15	West	Louise Jopling	Drusilla	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, London	GG

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
8	16	West	Horace Hart	Study of a Child's Head	fl.1887-1908	M	British		
8	17	West	E. Tofano	Eté	1838-1920	M	Italian	2 Park Row, Knightsbridge	
8	18	West	Thérèse Schwartze	Lady Bird	1851-1918	F	Dutch	117 Bond Street, London	
8	19	West	M. J. Davis	For To-morrow	fl.1881-1920	F	British	Lauderdale Road, Maida Vale	Miriam J. Davis
8	20	West	J. L. Machard	Soap Bubbles	1839-1900	M	French	87 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
9	21	West	R. Ponsonby Staples	Boat on the Round Pond	1853-1943	M	British	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington	GG
9	22	West	F. Montenard	A Road in the South of France	1849-1926	M	French	7 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
9	23	West	G. Dubufe	Portrait of a Lady	1853-1909	M	French		SPF
9	24	West	J. E. Blanche	Portrait of Donna Olga Caracciolo	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC
9	25	West	Emile Lévy	The Painter's Daughter	1826-1890	M	French	199 Boulevard, Malesheabes (sic), Paris	SPF
10	26	West	Tom Graham	The Cowherd	1840-1906	M	British	98 Fellowes Road, London	GG
10	27	West	R. Ponsonby Staples	Ducks of the Round Pond	1853-1943	M	British	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington	GG
10	28	West	J. L. Machard	Juno	1839-1900	M	French	87 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
10	29	West	W. S. Coleman	Blowing Bubbles	1829-1904	M	British	43 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead, London	
10	30	West	Roger Leigh	Sketch in Amsterdam	1840-1924	M	British		
10	31	West	G. P. Jacomb Hood	Ralph	1857-1929	M	British	3 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
11	32	West	Hilda Montalba	A Mill by Moonlight	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Road Mews, Campden Hill, London	GG
11	33	West	Henry Simpson	King Ethalbold on Croyland Old Bridge	1853-1921	M	British	Carlyle Studios, 296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
11	34	West	Elizabeth A. Armstrong	"Colinette était son nom, Elle habitait un Village"	1859-1912	F	Canadian	Cliffe Castle Cottage, Paul, Penzance	NEAC, SBA, GG
11	35	West	Hubert Vos	My Humble Friend	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA
11	36	West	Hubert Vos	Porlock; Somerset	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA
11	37	West	William Llewellyn	Waiting	1858-1941	M	British	8 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
11	38	West	Otto Scholderer	Master Victor	1834-1902	M	German	Kildesheim Road, Putney	GG
12	39	West	George Clausen	The Harrow	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, GG
12	40	West	Frank Hind	A Spanish Calle	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamingham	GG
12	41	West	J. Aumonier	Evening	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	GG
12	42	West	Anna Nordgren	Daddy's Darling	1847-1916	F	Swedish	Newlyn, Penzance, Cornwall	
12	43	West	Elizabeth A. Armstrong	One, Two, Three and away we go	1859-1912	F	Canadian	Cliffe Castle Cottage, Paul, Penzance	NEAC, SBA, GG
13	44	West	P. Roll	Resting	1846-1919	M	French	53 Rue Bremontier, Paris	SPF

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
13	45	West	Miss E. M. Osborne	Dawn	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, London	
13	46	West	F. H. A. Parker	Castles in the Air	d.1904	M	British	17 Keppel Street, Russell Square, London	NEAC, SBA
13	47	West	Louise Jopling	Little Sunshine	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, London	GG
13	48	West	George Clausen	A Study	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, GG
13	49	West	P. A. Besnard	Study	1849-1934	M	British	17 Rue Guillaum (sic) Tell, Paris	SPF
14	50	West	Léon Lhermitte	Children Fishing	1844-1925	M	British	19 Rue Vanquelin, Paris	SPF
14	51	West	Heywood Hardy	Sketch in the Great Sahara	1842-1933	M	British	10 Abbey Road, London	RWS, GG
14	52	West	J. E. Blanche	Portrait of Mdlle Julia Bartet, of the Comédie Française	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC
14	53	West	F. Montenard	Near Toulon	1849-1926	M	French	7 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
14	54	West	Arthur Hacker	Siesta	1858-1919	M	British	Atherstone House, Fellowes Road, London	NEAC, GG
15	55	West	Frank Hind	Early Morning off Venice	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamingham	GG
15	56	West	E. Rischgitz	Sunset from the Jura	1828-1909	M		Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, Bayswater	
15	57	West	G. P. Jacomb Hood	A Lady Artist	1857-1929	M	British	3 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
15	58	West	F. H. A. Parker	An Idyll of the King	d.1904	M	British	17 Keppel Street, Russell Square, London	NEAC, SBA

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
15	59	West	Elizabeth A. Armstrong	"The Maids were in the Garden hanging out the clothes"	1859-1912	F	Canadian	Cliffe Castle Cottage, Paul, Penzance	NEAC, SBA, GG
15	60	West	P. Roll	Bathers	1846-1919	M	French	53 Rue Bremontier, Paris	SPF
16	61	West	E. Rischgitz	William the Conqueror's Oak	1828-1909	M		Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, Bayswater	
16	62	West	Mme Madeleine Lemaire	Fancy Portrait	1845-1928	F	French	31 Rue de Monceau, Paris	SPF
16	63	West	G. P. Jacomb Hood	A Study for a Picture	1857-1929	M	British	3 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
16	64	West	A. Nozal	Old Oak at Auteuil	1852-1929	M	French	7 Quai de Passy, Paris	SPF
16	65	West	George Hare	Portrait of Madame H-	1857-1933	M	Irish	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	
17	66	West	A. D. Peppercorn	A Bend in the River	1847-1926	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead	NEAC
17	67	West	Henri Fantin-Latour	Scene from the Berlioz Opera, "Beatrice et Bénédict"	1836-1904	M	French	Rue des Beaux Arts, Paris	GG
17	68	West	Anna Bilinska	Young Polish Woman	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue de Fleurin, Paris	
17	69	West	Hubert Vos	Tête d'étude	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA
17	70	West	Henri Fantin-Latour	The Dance	1836-1904	M	French	Rue des Beaux Arts, Paris	GG
17	71	West	Joseph Knight	Cloudland	1837-1909	M	British	121 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea	
18	72	West	Solomon J. Solomon	Miss Ethel Wright	1860-1927	M	British	11 Holland Park Road, London	NEAC, GG

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
18	73	West	J. L. Brown	The Battlefield	1829-1898	M	French		SPF
18	74	West	Joseph Knight	Late Autumn	1837-1909	M	British	121 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea	
18	75	West	A. Pointelin	Sunset	1839-1933	M	French		
18	76	West	J. L. Machard	Portrait	1839-1900	M	French	87 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
18	77	West	A. Pointelin	Le Rocher du Dombier (Jura)	1839-1933	M	French		
19	78	West	Wm. Holman Hunt	Portrait of the Late Thomas Coombe M.A. Oxford	1827-1910	M	British		
19	79	West	Charles Ricketts	A Souvenir of Solario	1866-1931	M	British	The Vale, King's Road Chelsea	
19	80	West	Anna Bilinska	Young Polish Boy	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue de Fleurin, Paris	
19	81	West	J. Buxton Knight	Hastings, Beach and Parade	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
19	82	West	Anderson Hague	Life's Hardships	1850-1916	M	British	Tywyn, Conway	NEAC, SBA, GG
19	83	West	J. Haynes Williams	Kitty - "beautiful and young, and wild as an untrained colt"	1836-1908	M	British	1 Mansfield Gardens, N.W.	GG
20	84	West	J. McNeill Whistler	Venice	1834-1903	M	American	Tower House, Tite Street, Chelsea	SBA
20	85	West	J. McNeill Whistler	Venice	1834-1903	M	American	Tower House, Tite Street, Chelsea	SBA
20	86	West	Walter Langley	A Cornish Fishwife	1852-1922	M	British	Holbein House, Penzance	
20	87	West	St Clair Simmons	On the Canal Bank, Ostend	fl.1880-1917	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Kensington	
20	88	West	J. McNeill Whistler	Venice	1834-1903	M	American	Tower House, Tite Street, Chelsea	SBA

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
20	89	West	J. McNeill Whistler	Venice	1834-1903	M	American	Tower House, Tite Street, Chelsea	SBA
21	90	West	Emile Lévy	Portrait of Madame E. L.	1826-1890	M	French	199 Boulevard, Malesheabes (sic), Paris	SPF
21	91	West	Anderson Hague	Evening	1850-1916	M	British	Tywyn, Conway	NEAC, SBA, GG
21	92	West	J. Buxton Knight	Hastings Beach	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
21	93	West	Anna Bilinska	Young Polish Girl	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue de Fleurin, Paris	
22	94	East	Thomas Riley	Sunset Glow	fl.1880-1892	M			GG
22	95	East	R. Ponsonby Staples	The Tent, Wimbledon	1853-1943	M	British	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington	GG
22	96	East	J. E. Blanche	An Infanta - Study	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC
22	97	East	George Frampton	Portrait of my model, Antonio	1860-1928	M	British		
23	98	East	F. Ayling	Nasturtiums		M		95 Elm Park Gardens, South Kensington	
23	99	East	F. H. A. Parker	"There is Life in the Old Dog Yet"	d.1904	M		17 Keppel Street, Russell Square, London	NEAC, SBA
23	100	East	Mrs W. E. Hine	A Frosty Moonrise	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Westcott, Dorking	wife of artist William Egerton Hine

Appendix A
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1888

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
23	101	East	Mrs Adrian Stokes	Miss Hilda Messel	1855-1927	F	Austrian	13 Holland Street, Kensington	Marianne Stokes
23	102	East	W. E. F. Britten	Jessica	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
23	103	East	W. E. F. Britten	Rescued	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
23	104	East	W. E. F. Britten	A Fairy Tale	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	105	East	W. E. F. Britten	Miss A. Chaplin	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	106	East	W. E. F. Britten	The Heart's Misgivings	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	107	East	W. E. F. Britten	A Magi Ring (lent by Wm Fletcher esq.)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	108	East	W. E. F. Britten	The Wavelet	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	109	East	W. E. F. Britten	Country Cousins (lent by Philip B. Morris esq. A.R.A.)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	110	East	W. E. F. Britten	Boy and Dolphin (lent by Geo. Stewart Hodgson Esq.)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	111	East	W. E. F. Britten	Outlaws - A Dilemma	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	112	East	W. E. F. Britten	Suggestion for a Portrait	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
24	113	East	Louise Jopling	From a London Garden	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, London	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
24	114	East	Hilda Montalba	Girlhood	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Road Mews, Campden Hill, London	GG
25	115	East	J. Milner Kite	La Vieille	1862-1946	M	British	15 Rue Campagne, Premier Bd. Mont Parnasse, Paris	NEAC
25	116	East	George Hare	Puss	1857-1933	M	Irish	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	
25	117	East	William Llewellyn	A Jolly Old Tar	1858-1941	M	British	8 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
25	118	East	Louise Abbema	Michael Bettenfield, The Fencing Master	1853-1927	F	French	47, Rue Laffitte, Paris	
25	119	East	Percy Bigland	"We look before and after and pine for what is not"	1858-1926	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, London	NEAC, GG
25	120	East	Mrs Adrian Stokes	Phyllis, Daughter of E. A. Waterlow esq.	1855-1927	F	Austrian	13 Holland Street, Kensington	
26	121	East	Charles Vigor	Myrtles for the Bride	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
26	122	East	J. E. Grace	The Windmill	1851-1908	M	British	Nulford, Godalming	SBA, GG
26	123	East	G. A. Storey (A.R.A)	Gladys	1834-1919	M	British	39 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead	
26	124	East	K. McCausland	Portrait of Mrs F. B.	fl.1884-1909	F		48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill, London	Charlotte Katherine McCausland
26	125	East	Paul Knight	Welsh Cottages	fl.1883-1904	M		121 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
26	126	East	George Hare	L'Anglaise en Voyage	1857-1933	M	Irish	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	
27	127	East	Percy Bigland	H. Schwesser	1858-1926	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, London	NEAC, GG
27	128	East	C. H. Shannon	The Night of Redemption	1863-1937	M	British	The Vale, King's Road Chelsea	GG
27	129	East	Roger Leigh	Sketch in Surrey	1840-1924	M	British		
27	130	East	William F. Yeames, R.A.	En Vivandière	1835-1918	M	British	Grove End Road, N.W	
27	131	East	Henry Fanner	Mrs George Coats	1854-1888	M	British	104 Earls Court Road, Kensington, London	
27	132	East	E. M. Osborne	Ranworth Brood	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, London	
28	133	East	Herbert Schmalz	In Manu Domini	1856-1935	M	British	The Studio, Holland Park Road, Kensington	
28	134	East	Henry Fanner	Mrs G. Colvin White	1854-1888	M	British	104 Earls Court Road, Kensington, London	
28	135	East	E. M. Osborne	Breudon Water	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, London	
28	136	East	Hubert Vos	My vis-à-vis	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA
28	137	East	Fred Brown	At the Table	1851-1941	M	British	9 Victoria Grove, Fulham, London	GG
28	138	East	Henri Fantin-Latour	Adriané	1836-1904	M	French	Rue des Beaux Arts, Paris	GG
29	139	East	Hubert Vos	Home Rulers	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
29	140	East	Henri Fantin-Latour	Portrait	1836-1904	M	French	Rue des Beaux Arts, Paris	GG
29	141	East	A. Pointelin	Près Bois dans le Jura	1839-1933	M	French		
29	142	East	C. H. Shannon	Ashtareth	1863-1937	M	British	The Vale, King's Road Chelsea	GG
29	143	East	William Stott of Oldham	Summer Moonlight	1857-1900	M	British		SBA
29	144	East	William Stott of Oldham	A Starry Night	1857-1900	M	British		SBA
29	145	East	P. Wilson Steer	Shy	1860-1942	M	British	Machsi Mansion, Adison Road, Kensington	GG
30	146	East	P. Helleu	Alice - Study	1859-1927	M	French		SPF
30	147	East	William Stott of Oldham	White Rhododendrons	1857-1900	M	British		SBA
30	148	East	P. Helleu	A Spanish Lady (lent by J. S. Sargent, esq.)	1859-1927	M	French		SPF
30	149	East	William Stott of Oldham	A Sandhill	1857-1900	M	British		SBA
30	150	East	P. Helleu	Young Lady Evening (lent by J. S. Sargent, esq.)	1859-1927	M	French		SPF
31	151	East	Bernard Sickert	The Building of the Ship	1862-1932	M	German	12 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington	NEAC
31	152	East	P. A. Besnard	Portrait	1849-1934	M	French	17 Rue Guillaum (sic) Tell, Paris	SPF
31	153	East	J. E. Blanche	Portrait of Mdlle. J. M.	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
31	154	East	P. A. Besnard	Study	1849-1934	M	French	17 Rue Guillaum (sic) Tell, Paris	SPF
31	155	East	Bernard Sickert	The Ellen Ashcroft	1862-1932	M	German	12 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington	NEAC
32	156	East	Theodore Roussel	Portrait of a Little Boy	1847-1926	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	NEAC, SBA, GG
32	157	East	William Stott of Oldham	The Purple Mountain	1857-1900	M	British		SBA
32	158	East	J. E. Blanche	Standing by a Kakemono	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC
32	159	East	Sidney Starr	The Café Royal	1857-1925	M	American	38 Abercorn Place, Abbey Road, N.W	NEAC, SBA
32	160	East	Bernard Sickert	Rue de la Grace de Dieu	1862-1932	M	German	12 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington	NEAC
33	161	East	C. H. Shannon	The Prodigal Son - "Father! I have sinned against heaven and before Thee, and am no more worthy to be called Thy Son."	1863-1937	M	British	The Vale, King's Road Chelsea	GG
33	162	East	Mrs W. E. Hine	"Away to the West as the Sun went Down"	fl.1887-1895	F		Westcott, Dorking	
33	163	East	Louise Abbema	Portrait de Monsieur Paul Mantz, ancien directeur des Beux Arts	1853-1927	F	French	47, Rue Laffitte, Paris	
33	164	East	Alfred Hartley	"When the Sun is Low"	1855-1933	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
33	165	East	Bernard Sickert	The Casino by the Cliff	1862-1932	M	German	12 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington	NEAC
33	166	East	E. M. Osborn	Morning	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, London	
34	167	East	J. Lewis Brown	Hunting Scene	1829-1898	M	French		SPF
34	168	East	Bernard Sickert	Calm Evening	1862-1932	M	German	12 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington	NEAC
34	169	East	Ellen G. Cohen	Cousin Gertie	fl.1884-1905	F		21 Hamilton Terrace, London	
34	170	East	Bernard Sickert	Bright Morning	1862-1932	M	German	12 Pembroke Gardens, Kensington	NEAC
34	171	East	T. Graham	Pastoral	1840-1906	M	British	98 Fellowes Road, London	GG
34	172	East	Otto Scholderer	Alexander Huth esq.	1834-1902	M	German	Kildesheim Road, Putney	GG
35	173	East	Alfred Hartley	Sunshine and Shadows	1855-1933	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
35	174	East	Theodore Roussel	Pierrot "Ma fonction est d'etre blanc" - "Le baiser" Comedy by Theodore de Bauville; Cannigaro, Aug 7, 1888	1847-1926	M		Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	NEAC, SBA, GG
35	175	East	Adolphe Birkenruth	L'Avenue du Maine: Gare Montparnasse, Paris	b.1863	M	South African	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, London	
35	176	East	Otto Scholderer	John Colman Esq.	1834-1902	M	German	Kildesheim Road, Putney	GG
35	177	East	William Stott of Oldham	Pastoral (lent by H. S. Theobald, Esq.)	1857-1900	M	British		SBA

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
35	178	East	George Clausen	Child's Portrait	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, GG
36	179	Third Room	Edward Rischgitz	Marsh Marigolds	1828-1909	M		Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, Bayswater	
36	180	Third Room	Thérèse Schwartze	Child's Head	1851-1918	F	Dutch	117 New Bond Street, London	
36	181	Third Room	Graham Petrie	A Little Housewife	1859-1940	M	British	Hogarth Club, 36 Dover Street, London	GG
36	182	Third Room	Florence Small	The Sketch	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	
36	183	Third Room	E. Vidal	A Study	fl.1886-1907	M	British	c/o Robert Dunthorne, 5 Vigo Street	
37	184	Third Room	Edward Rischgitz	Spring	1828-1909	M	British	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, Bayswater	
37	185	Third Room	Mrs M. H. Earnshaw	Miss Lilian Seccond as Winter	fl.1888-1904	F	British		Mary Harriot Earnshaw
37	186	Third Room	Miss A. Downes	A Portrait	fl.1885-1890	F	British		Annabel Downes
37	187	Third Room	Arthur Clabburn	Miss Beare	1850-1901	M	British	Junior United Service Club, Charles Street, London	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
37	188	Third Room	Edward Rischgitz	Bluebells	1828-1909	M	British	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, Bayswater	
37	189	Third Room	E. Tofano	Geraldine, Daughter of the Late Charles Waring	1838-1920	M	Italian	2 Park Row, Knightsbridge	
38	190	Third Room	J. Nelson Drummond	Summer Days	fl.1882-1896	M	British	The Terrace, Greenhithe, Kent	
38	191	Third Room	Hilda Montalba	Portrait of Mrs A. R. Montalba	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Road Mews, Campden Hill, London	GG
38	192	Third Room	Arthur Severn	Amiens Cathedral (from the bank of the Somme)	1842-1931	M	British	Hearne Hill, London	GG
38	193	Third Room	Louise Jopling	Portrait	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, London	GG
38	194	Third Room	Charles Vigor	A Cherub	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
38	195	Third Room	Peter MacNab	Dawn	d.1900	M	British	219 Maida Vale, London	SBA
39	196	Third Room	T. C. Farrer	Autumn on the Moors, Weather Clearing	1839-1891	M	British	35 King Henry's Road, London	GG
39	197	Third Room	Hilda Montalba	A Portrait	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Road Mews, Campden Hill, London	GG
39	198	Third Room	A. Nozal	Winter Time - Petit Andely, Eure	1852-1929	M	French	7 Quai de Passy, Paris	SPF

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
39	199	Third Room	Mrs M. H. Earnshaw	Miss A. C. Dyne Steele	fl.1888-1904	F	British		Mary Harriot Earnshaw
40	200	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Pomona	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
40	201	Fourth Room	Edward Tayler	Study of a Girl's Head	1838-1911	M	British	347 Gloucester Place, Portman Square	GG
40	202	Fourth Room	Mrs Walter Creyke	On the Thames		F	British		
40	203	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Mrs E. B. Schudham	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
40	204	Fourth Room	Heywood Hardy	Study of Wild Ass	1842-1933	M	British	10 Abbey Road, London	RWS, GG
41	205	Fourth Room	Mark Fisher	Calves	1841-1923	M	British	Longstock, Stockbridge, Hampshire	GG
41	206	Fourth Room	Henry Simpson	A Windmill, New Holland	1853-1921	M	British	Carlyle Studios, 296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
41	207	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Study of a Child (lent by G. Stewart Hodgson, esq)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
41	208	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Betty	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
41	209	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Athaene Planting	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
41	210	Fourth Room	George Clausen	Girl's Head	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
41	211	Fourth Room	Frank L. Emmanuel	Afternoon Glow	1865-1948	M	British	60 Bedford Gardens, Kensington, London	
42	212	Fourth Room	Herbert Johnson	"By Hook or by Crook"	b.1848, fl.1880-1906	M	British	Chantrey Studio, Eccleston Street	
42	213	Fourth Room	Louise Jopling	Brookthorpe, Gloucester	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, London	GG
42	214	Fourth Room	Henry Simpson	A Study	1853-1921	M	British	Carlyle Studios, 296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
42	215	Fourth Room	Henry Muhrman	Cottage - Moonlight	1854-1916	M	American	c/o Messrs Buck & Reid, 179 Bond Street	
42	216	Fourth Room	Henry Fanner	Mrs Allen Campbell	1854-1888	M	British	104 Earls Court Road, Kensington, London	
42	217	Fourth Room	R. Machell	A Portrait	fl.1881-1900	M	British	99 New Bond Street, London	GG
43	218	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	The Dancer (lent by Geo. Aitcheson, Esq, A.R.A)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
43	219	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	The Dancer (lent by Geo. Aitcheson, Esq, A.R.A)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
43	220	Fourth Room	W. G. Wills	Portrait of H.R.H. The Princess Louise	1828-1891	M	Irish	139 Earl's Court Road, Kensington	
43	221	Fourth Room	Minnie Gray	Day Dreams	b.1859	F	British	21 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	
43	222	Fourth Room	Henry Fanner	H.R.H. The Duchess of Edinburgh	1854-1888	M	British	104 Earls Court Road, Kensington, London	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
43	223	Fourth Room	Mrs F. A. Hopkins	Evening, Ardennes	1856-1919	F	British	3 Upper Berekley Street, Portman Square	Frances Ann Hopkins
43	224	Fourth Room	Graham Petrie	A Fisher Boy	1859-1940	M	British	Hogarth Club, 36 Dover Street, London	GG
44	225	Fourth Room	Mrs Savile Clark	At Dinard	1840-1896	F	British	Cleveland Lodge, Westbourne Park, London	Helen Savile Clark
44	226	Fourth Room	Mrs F. A. Hopkins	In a Garden, Ardennes	1856-1919	F	British	3 Upper Berekley Street, Portman Square	Frances Ann Hopkins
44	227	Fourth Room	Fritz Althaus	Greenwich Hospital	1863-1962	M	British	162 Portsdown Road, Maida Vale	
44	228	Fourth Room	E. R. Hughes	A Portrait Group	1851-1914	M	British		
44	229	Fourth Room	Herbert Johnson	"By Hook or by Crook"	b.1848, fl.1880-1906	M	British	Chantrey Studio, Eccleston Street	
44	230	Fourth Room	W. Henry Gore	A Sheep Fold	1857-1942	M	British	30 Great Russell Street, London	GG
45	231	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	A Secret (lent by William Fletcher, esq.)	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
45	232	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Health	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
45	233	Fourth Room	Hubert Vos	In Dreamland	1855-1936	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge	NEAC, SBA

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
45	234	Fourth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Picus	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
46	235	Fifth Room	Ethel Webling	Sketch for a Portrait	fl.1880-1927	F	British	4 Boyne Terrace, Holland Park	
46	236	Fifth Room	P. Roll	Study	1846-1919	M	French	53 Rue Bremontier, Paris	SPF
46	237	Fifth Room	Frank Batson	Studies of Sails and Nets, Clovelly	fl.1888-1926	M	British	Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street, London	
46	238	Fifth Room	Mrs F. Claxton	A Pastellist	fl.1880-89	F	British	31 St Mary Abbots Terrace, Kensington, London	
46	239	Fifth Room	W. J. Moore	Adelina	fl.1885-1892	M	British	St Mark's Buildings, Balderton Street, Oxford Street	
47	240	Fifth Room	W. A. Rixon	The Rick Yard	fl.1880-1936	M	British	Cookham Deane, Maidenhead	SBA
47	241	Fifth Room	Gabriel Thompson	Bavarian Canal	1861-1935	M	British	Schlussheim, Munich	
47	242	Fifth Room	Edith Tolhurst	A Study	1861-1942	F	British	1 Highbury Quadrant	
47	243	Fifth Room	Mrs Val Bromley	Brixham Pier Head	fl.1880-1893	F	British	25 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	Alice Louisa Maria Bromley
47	244	Fifth Room	G. F. Wetherbee	Spring	1851-1920	M	British	37 Steele's Road, Haverstock Hill	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
47	245	Fifth Room	E. Vidal	A Study	fl.1886-1907	M	British	c/o Robert Dunthorne, 5 Vigo Street	
47	246	Fifth Room	Heywood Hardy	Study of a Pelican	1842-1933	M	British	10 Abbey Road, London	RWS, GG
48	247	Fifth Room	Wilfred Ball	When the Dew Falls	1853-1917	M	British	39B Old Bond Street, London	
48	248	Fifth Room	William Stott of Oldham	Near the Fireside	1857-1900	M	British		SBA
48	249	Fifth Room	Emile Lévy	Portrait of Mdme. D.	1826-1890	M	French	199 Boulevard, Malesheabes (sic), Paris	SPF
48	250	Fifth Room	Adolphe Birkenruth	Idyll	b.1863	M	South African	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, London	
48	251	Fifth Room	Heywood Hardy	Study of a Leopard	1842-1933	M	British	10 Abbey Road, London	RWS, GG
48	252	Fifth Room	Mrs Val Bromley	Not Much Breeze	fl.1880-1893	F	British	25 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	Alice Louisa Maria Bromley
49	253	Fifth Room	W. S. Coleman	May Blossoms	1829-1904	M	British	43 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead, London	
49	254	Fifth Room	A Ludovici	La Boucle D'Oreille	1820-1894	M	German	20 Mornington Road, Regent's Park	SBA
49	255	Fifth Room	J. Nelson Drummond	St Paul's From the River	fl.1882-1896	M	British	The Terrace, Greenhithe, Kent	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
49	256	Fifth Room	Wilfred Ball	A Misty Moonrise	1853-1917	M	British	39B Old Bond Street, London	
49	257	Fifth Room	W. A. Rixton	Marlow Bridge and Church	fl.1880-1936	M	British	Cookham Deane, Maidenhead	
49	258	Fifth Room	Mrs Savile Clark	La Vicomté	1840-1896	F	British	Cleveland Lodge, Westbourne Park, London	Helen Savile Clark
50	259	Fifth Room	Adolphe Birkenruth	A Portrait	b.1863	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, London	
50	260	Fifth Room	Frank Batson	Off Beardsley Island	fl.1888-1926	M	British	Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street, London	
50	261	Fifth Room	J. Buxton Knight	Sketch Near Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
50	262	Fifth Room	J. Buxton Knight	Sketch Near Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
50	263	Fifth Room	George Hare	Thirsty	1857-1933	M	Irish	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, London	
50	264	Fifth Room	Arthur Severn	Evening on the Somme, near Amiens	1842-1931	M	British	Hearne Hill, London	GG
50	265	Fifth Room	W. E. F. Britten	Boy and Dolphin	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG
50	266	Fifth Room	W. E. F. Britten	The Ace of Hearts	1848-1916	M	British	13A Bloomfield Place, SW, London	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
51	267	Fifth Room	R. H. Greatorex	"Le Bonnet Bleu"	fl.1888-98	F	British	70 Rue d'Assas, Paris	check could be Kathleen H. Greatorex
51	268	Fifth Room	James E. Grace	Moonrise	1851-1908	M	British	Nulford, Godalming	SBA, GG
51	269	Fifth Room	J. Buxton Knight	Sketch Near Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
51	270	Fifth Room	J. Buxton Knight	Sketch Near Hastings	1843-1908	M	British	Palace Chambers, 9 Bridge Street, London	NEAC, GG
51	271	Fifth Room	William Llewellyn	A Cornish Fishing Village	1858-1941	M	British	8 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea	NEAC, SBA, GG
51	272	Fifth Room	Frank Batson	Low Tide	fl.1888-1926	M	British	Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street, London	
51	273	Fifth Room	Hodgson Liddell	Nightfall - Greenwich	1860-1925	M	British	Hogarth Club, 36 Dover Street, London	
52	274	Fifth Room	T. C. Farrer	A Salmon Streak	1839-1891	M	British	35 King Henry's Road, London	GG
52	275	Fifth Room	Alfred V. Poncy	Cattle in Repose	fl.1880-1890	M	British	59 Sistora Road, Balham, London	
52	276	Fifth Room	Edgar Wills	Winter in the Garden	1849-1907	M	British	139 Earl's Court Road, Kensington	
52	277	Fifth Room	Heywood Hardy	Study of African Elephant	1842-1933	M	British	10 Abbey Road, London	RWS, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
52	278	Fifth Room	Otto Scholderer	Mrs Otto Scholderer	1834-1902	M	German	Kildesheim Road, Putney	GG
52	279	Fifth Room	Gabriel Thompson	The Roadway	1861-1935	M	British	Schlussheim, Munich	
53	280	Fifth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	A Study	1853-1943	M	British	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington	GG
53	281	Fifth Room	George Thomson	A Sketch in Rotten Row	1860-1939	M	British	Trafalgar Studios, Chelsea	
53	282	Fifth Room	F. Montenard	By the Sea	1849-1926	M	French	7 Rue Ampere, Paris	SPF
53	283	Fifth Room	Louise Abbema	Fleur de Roseau	1853-1927	F	French	47, Rue Laffitte, Paris	
53	284	Fifth Room	Edgar Wills	At Aldenburgh	1849-1907	M	British	139 Earl's Court Road, Kensington	
53	285	Fifth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Portrait Studies	1853-1943	M	British	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington	GG
54	286	Fifth Room	K. McCausland	Olive, A Study	fl.1884-1909	F	British	48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill, London	Charlotte Katherine McCausland
54	287	Fifth Room	Hilda Montalba	Going with the Wind	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Road Mews, Campden Hill, London	GG
54	288	Fifth Room	Gunning King	A Coquette	1859-1940	M	British	South Petersfield, Hampshire	NEAC, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
54	289	Fifth Room	T. C. Farrer	"Soon as the evening shades prevail, The moon takes up the wondrous tale"	1839-1891	M	Irish	35 King Henry's Road, London	GG
54	290	Fifth Room	J. E. Grace	A Old Windmill	1851-1908	M	British	Nulford, Godalming	SBA, GG
54	291	Fifth Room	Fritz Althaus	St Paul's From Waterloo Bridge	1863-1962	M	British	162 Portsdown Road, Maida Vale	
55	292	Fifth Room	Miss J. Cameron	Study of a Head	fl.1880-1900	F	British	Kensington Studios, Kelsoe Place, Kensington	Miss Julia F. Cameron
55	293	Fifth Room	Fritz Althaus	St Mary's, Battersea	1863-1962	M	British	162 Portsdown Road, Maida Vale	
55	294	Fifth Room	Ethel Haynes Williams	Flowers	1868-1932	F	British	1 Mansfield Gardens, N.W.	
55	295	Fifth Room	Arthur C. Blunt	Old Chelsea Bridge	1867-1935	M	American	The Vicarage, Chelsea	
55	296	Fifth Room	William Dodge	A Reverie		M		1 Queen's Road Studios, St John's Wood, London	
55	297	Fifth Room	P. Roll	Study	1846-1919	M	French	53 Rue Bremontier, Paris	SPF
55	298	Fifth Room	W. J. Moore	Study of a Head	fl.1885-1892	M	British	St Mark's Buildings, Balderton Street, Oxford Street	

Appendix B
Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1889

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
5	1	West	James E Christie	North Berwick	1847-1914	M	British		NEAC, GG
5	2	West	Emile Wauters	Hubert Vos	1846-1933	M	Belgian	Brussels	
6	3	West	Frank Kelsey	Nocturne	1864-1932	M	British	92 New Bond Street, W	
6	4	West	Ernest Sichel	The Dragon Ship	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
6	5	West	Gabriel Thompson	A Misty Day	1861-1935	M	British	Redlands, Bridgwater	
6	6	West	G. P. Jacomb Hood	Head of a Girl	1857-1929	M	British	3 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W	NEAC, SBA, GG
6	7	West	James Macbeth	Landscape	1847-1891	M	British	11 Goldhurst Terrace, West Hampstead	
7	8	West	Miss Ethel Rose	A Love Story		F		The Grove, Denmark Hill, S.E.	
7	9	West	Theodore Wores	Homeward Bound	1859-1939	M	American	296 King's Road, S.W.	
7	10	West	Ellis Roberts	Mrs J. G. Menzies	1860-1930	M	British	2A Limerston Street, Fulham Road, S.W	GG
7	11	West	Miss K. McClausland	Mrs Gordon Robbins	fl.1884-1909	F		48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill	
7	12	West	A. Dampier May	Devonshire Woods	1857-1916	M	British	9 Elm Tree Road, N.W.	GG
8	13	West	Ernest Sichel	A Sketch	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
8	14	West	Gabriel Thompson	Sketch of Mittenheim Pool	1861-1935	M	British	Redlands, Bridgwater	
8	15	West	Frank Hind	A Glimpse of the Sierra Nevada	fl.1884-1904	M		Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
8	16	West	Tom Robertson	A Moist, Misty Morning	1850-1947	M	British	257 West Campbell Street, Glasgow	
8	17	West	Emile Levy	"Tete de Vieille Veuve"	1826-1890	M	French	199 Boulevard, Malesherbes, Paris	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
9	18	West	H. Muhrman	Ice Scene	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
9	19	West	Miss Florence Small	The Poet	fl.1880-1932	F		Cavendish Cresent, The Park, Nottingham	
9	20	West	James E. Grace	Sketch for Picture	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Godalming, Surrey	SBA, GG
9	21	West	Henry Tuke	Barking Nets	1858-1929	M	British	Lyndon Lodge, Hanwell	NEAC, SBA, GG
9	22	West	A. Dampier May	A Syren	1857-1916	M	British	9 Elm Tree Road, N.W.	GG
10	23	West	H. Muhrman	Nasturtiums	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
10	24	West	R. Wane	An Anglesea (sic) Nook	1852-1904	M	British	Allandale, Deganway, Conway	GG
10	25	West	Otto Scholderer	Miss Breul	1834-1902	M	German	6 Bedford Gardens, W	GG
10	26	West	H. Muhrman	Red Flowers	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
10	27	West	Frank Hind	Evening in Sierra Nevada	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
11	28	West	Alice Grant	J. D. Grant	fl.1881-1907	F	British	151 Gloucester Road, South Kensington	GG
11	29	West	James E. Grace	Moonrise	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Godalming, Surrey	SBA, GG
11	30	West	Ernest Sichel	Victor Sichel	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
11	31	West	Frank Brangwyn	October	1867-1956	M	British	15 Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, S.W. London	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
11	32	West	Henry Simpson	Tomb of Marabout - Biskra, Sahara	1853-1921	M	British	Carlyle Studios, 296 King's Road, S.W	NEAC, GG
12	33	West	Miss Florence Small	The Little Quakeress	fl.1880-1932	F	British	Cavendish Cresent, The Park, Nottingham	
12	34	West	Ernest R. Fox	Within the Prescincts (sic)	1862-1917	M	British	Fordington House, Stroud, Kent	NEAC
12	35	West	William Llewellyn	The River Camel - Padstow	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
12	36	West	J. Nelson-Drummond	St. Paul's from the River "When the clocks were striking the hour"	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	
12	37	West	St. George Hare	G. F. Montfort, Esq.	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliife Road, S.W	
13	38	West	R. W. Allan	Evening in Holland	1852-1942	M	British	2 Spenser Street, Victoria Street, London, S.W.	RWS, GG
13	39	West	J. Aumonier	October	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	GG
13	40	West	Arthur Hacker	Mauve and Gold	1858-1919	M	British	74 Fellowes Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
13	41	West	F. L. Emanuel	The Day's Work Done	1865-1948	M	British	60 Bedford Gardens, W.	
13	42	West	George Wetherbee	Study for a Picture	1851-1920	M	American	37 Steele's Road, Haverstock Hill	GG
14	43	West	Charles McEwen	The Rookery	1843-1892	M	British	79 West George Street, Glasgow	
14	44	West	Frank Hind	Three Little Spanish Girls from School	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
14	45	West	Mrs Arthur Raphael	C. P. Little, Esq.	fl.1889-1917	F	British	33 Devonshire Place, Portland Place, W.	
14	46	West	Alan Wright	A Summer Number	fl.1888-1897	M	British	88 Sterndale Road, W.	
14	47	West	Ellis Roberts	The Revd. H. G. Jebb	1860-1930	M	British	2A Limerston Street, Fulham Road, S.W	GG
15	48	West	Alfred Hartley	In the Morning Light	1855-1933	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, GG
15	49	West	Miss Gertrude B. May	Chrysanthemums	fl.1880-1890	F	British	15 Lennard Place, W	GG
15	50	West	Mrs Louise Jopling	A Wood Nymph	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	GG
15	51	West	J. Milner Kite	A Brittany Barmaid	1862-1945	M	British	15 Rue Campagne Première, Bd, Montparnasse, Paris	
15	52	West	William Llewellyn	Street in Port Isaac - North Cornwall	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
16	53	West	Hamlet Bannerman	Among the Grasses	1851-1895	M	British	Beaumont Rise, Gt. Marlow	
16	54	West	J. C. Farrer	A Summer Storm	1839-1891	M	British	35 King Henry's Road, N.W.	GG
16	55	West	St. Clair Simmons	Idyll	fl.1880-1917	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.	
16	56	West	Henry Simpson	A Sibyl	1853-1921	M	British	Carlyle Studios, 296 King's Road, S.W	NEAC, GG
16	57	West	J. M. Swan	Polar Bears	1846-1910	M	British	3 Acacia Road, N.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
17	58	West	Walter Osborne	Marjorie	1859-1903	M	Irish	5 Castlewood Avenue, Dublin	NEAC
17	59	West	G. Gemmell Hutchison	Grandfather's Initials	1855-1936	M	British	32 Patshull Road, Kentish Town	GG
17	60	West	John McLure Hamilton	Study of Children in White	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
17	61	West	A. Dampier May	Thoughts	1857-1916	M	British	9 Elm Tree Road, N.W.	GG
17	62	West	Miss C. Flood-Jones	Lionel	fl.1886-1915	F	British	The Cloisters, Westminster	
18	63	West	Miss E. Tolhurst	Florence	fl.1888-1904	F	British	1 Highbury Quadrant, N	
18	64	West	Frank Hind	The Haunted House	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
18	65	West	R. Ponsonby Staples	The Home Farm Field	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
18	66	West	Nicholas Shiels	A Glimpse of the Romney Marsh		M			
18	67	West	Herbert Schmalz	Evening in the Valley of Zermatt	1856-1935	M	British	Holland Park Road Studios, Kensington	
19	68	West	Emile Levy	Étude d'Enfant	1826-1890	M	French	199 Boulevard, Malesherbes, Paris	
19	69	West	Miss Ada R. Holland	Night with Light in the Sky	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	
19	70	West	Graham Petrie	By the Rivers	1859-1940	M	British	Hogarth Club, Dover Street	GG
19	71	West	Leslie Giffen Cauldwell	La Cigarette	1861-1941	M	American	11, Rue Boissonade, Paris	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
19	72	West	H. Muhrman	Light Dahlias	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
20	73	West	Wm. Stott of Oldham	Morning Alps	1857-1900	M	British	3 Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill	SBA
20	74	West	A. D. Peppercorn	The Cornfield	1847-1926	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead	NEAC
20	75	West	Otto Scholderer	An Old Volume	1834-1902	M	German	6 Bedford Gardens, W	GG
20	76	West	R. Wane	A Lone Shore	1852-1904	M	British	Allandale, Deganway, Conway	GG
20	77	West	William Llewellyn	Mrs Raymond Radclyffe	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
21	78	West	Miss Anna Nordgren	The Old Bachelor	1847-1916	F	Swedish	49 Eaton Square, S.W	
21	79	West	A. D. Peppercorn	The Haywaggon	1847-1926	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead	NEAC
21	80	West	A. D. Peppercorn	The Pool	1847-1926	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead	NEAC
21	81	West	John Buxton Knight	Twilight at Littlehampton	1843-1908	M	British	9 Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.	NEAC, GG
21	82	West	A. K. Brown	Moonrise	1849-1922	M	British	Wellington Studios, Glasgow	GG
22	83	West	Solomon J. Solomon	Amazon - A Study	1860-1927	M	British	Holland Park Road Studios, Kensington	NEAC, GG
22	84	West	Anderson Hague	On the Coast of Anglesea (sic)	1850-1916	M	British	Deganwy, Llandudno, North Wales	NEAC, SBA, GG
22	85	West	H. Muhrman	Children Crossing the Heath	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
22	86	West	Mrs Morton Strode Jackson	Across a Lancashire Flat		F		4 Hyde Park Mansions, Hyde Park	
22	87	West	W. H. Margetson	At the Shrine of Osiris	1861-1940	M	British	1 Lennard Place, Circus Road, N.W	GG
23	88	West	E. Cagniart	On the Quai d'Orsay	1851-1911	M	French	Hanover Gallery, Bond Street, London	
23	89	West	G. P. Jacomb Hood	Stella	1857-1929	M	British	3 Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W	NEAC, SBA, GG
23	90	West	John McLure Hamilton	Leisure Hour	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
23	91	West	Fritz Althaus	Where Sea and River Meet	1863-1962	M	British	87 Iverson Road, West Hampstead, London	
23	92	West	Miss Harriet Sutcliffe	Roses	fl.1881-1907	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	
24	93	West	Leslie Giffen Cauldwell	A Grumbler	1861-1941	M	American	11, Rue Boissonade, Paris	
24	94	West	Wm. Stott of Oldham	Madame Nevada as "Lackmé"	1857-1900	M	British	3 Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill	SBA
24	95	West	Leslie Giffen Cauldwell	An Interruption	1861-1941	M	American	11, Rue Boissonade, Paris	
24	96	West	J. Nelson-Drummond	Where Shakespeare Sleeps	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	
24	97	West	Miss Eva E. Hunt	Roses	fl.1880-1890	F	British	4 Hyde Vale, Greenwich	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
25	98	West	W. H. Margetson	"When once the lover's rose is dead, or laid aside forlorn, Then willow-garlands round the head, Bedewed with tears are worn" - Herrick	1861-1940	M	British	1 Lennard Place, Circus Road, N.W	GG
25	99	West	John McLure Hamilton	Studio of E. Onslow Ford	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
25	100	West	Graham Petrie	A Garden	1859-1940	M	British	Hogarth Club, Dover Street	GG
25	101	West	J. Milner Kite	Portrait of the Artist's Brother	1862-1945	M	British	15 Rue Campagne Première, Bd, Montparnasse, Paris	
26	102	West	James S. Hill	Evening on the Blyth	1854-1921	M	British	86 Fellowes Road, N.W.	SBA
26	103	West	A. Nozal	En Brenne - Berry Marécages	1852-1929	M	French	7 Quai de Passy, Paris	
26	104	West	Hamlet Bannerman	The Hayfield	1851-1895	M	British	Beaumont Rise, Gt. Marlow	
26	105	West	J. E. Blanche	Sir Rivers Wilson K.C.M.G., C. B.	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC
26	106	West	Emile Levy	Jeune Fille en Costume Japonais	1826-1890	M	French	199 Boulevard, Malesherbes, Paris	
27	107	West	Arthur Tomson	Pastoral	1859-1905	M	British	20 St John's Wood Road, N.W.	GG
27	108	West	E. M. Osborn	Sunset - Venice	1828-1913	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W	
27	109	West	Gabriel Thompson	After-glow over the Plains	1861-1935	M	British	Redlands, Bridgwater	
27	110	West	H. Muhrman	A Windy Day	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
27	111	West	A. E. Emslie	Sweet Seventeen	1848-1918	M	British	17 North Audley Street, W	RWS, GG
28	112	West	Miss Ada R. Holland	Roses from the Old Garden	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	
28	113	West	Wm. Stott of Oldham	Jungfrau	1857-1900	M	British	3 Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill	SBA
28	114	West	St. George Hare	Songs of Spain	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliife Road, S.W	
28	115	West	Hubert Vos	Abdallah	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W	NEAC, SBA
28	116	West	Mrs W. E. Hine	The Setting Sun	fl.1887-1895	M	British	Westcott, Dorking	
29	117	West	Wm. Stott of Oldham	The Little Bay	1857-1900	M	British	3 Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill	SBA
29	118	West	F. De Marneff Stark	Mlle C_.		M		Yelfords, Chagford, Devon	
29	119	West	H. Muhrman	Light Dahlias	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
29	120	West	Wm. Stott of Oldham	The Eiger	1857-1900	M	British	3 Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill	SBA
29	121	West	Miss K. McClausland	Mrs E. W. Hansell	fl.1884-1909	M	British	48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill	
30	122	West	A. Ludovici	A Dream	1820-1894	M	German	20 Mornington Road, Regent's Park	NEAC, SBA
30	123	West	J. E. Blanche	Little Simone and her doll	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Auteuil, Paris	SPF, NEAC

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
30	124	West	F. M. Skipworth	Miss Violet Defrie	1854-1929	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road	GG
30	125	West	Wm. Stott of Oldham	The White Mountain	1857-1900	M	British	3 Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill	SBA
30	126	West	R. Wane	The Coast of Anglesea (sic)	1852-1904	M	British	Allandale, Deganway, Conway	GG
31	126 A	West	Mlle Anna Bilinska	Un Gamin	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue Fleurus, Paris	
31	127	West	Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Hide and Seek	1859-1912	F	Canadian	Cliff Castle Cottage, Penzance	NEAC, SBA, GG
31	128	West	E. Cagniart	La Bieve a Arcueil	1851-1911	M	French	Hanover Gallery, Bond Street, London	
31	129	West	Holman Hunt	Robert B. Martineau	1827-1910	M	British	Draycott Lodge, Fulham, S.W.	
31	130	West	St. George Hare	"What is love? - 'tis not hereafter; present mirth hath present laughter"	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliife Road, S.W	
32	131	West	James E. Grace	Moorland and Sky	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Godalming, Surrey	SBA, GG
32	132	West	Alfred T. Poncy	The Love Letter	fl.1880-1890	M	British	59 Sistora Road, Balham, S.W.	
32	133	West	Alfred Hartley	In the Morning Light - The Way to the Mill	1855-1933	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, GG
32	134	West	George Clausen	Little Rose	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Deane, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
32	135	West	F. Hamilton Jackson	Cupid leaves Psyche	1848-1923	M	British	35 Woodstock Road, Bedford Park, W	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
33	136	West	Ernest Sichel	"Ellen" - A Portrait	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
33	137	West	Miss Helen H. Hatton	Little Mistress Prue	b.1860	F	British	1 Lennard Place, Circus Road, N.W	GG
33	138	West	Edwin Hayes	The Mumbles Lighthouse, near Swansea	1819-1904	M	British	Briscoe House, Steelis Road, N.W.	GG
33	139	West	E. Tofano	Thomas, son of Percy Tew, Esq	1838-1920	M	Italian	2 Park Row, Knightsbridge	
33	140	West	Hubert Vos	Mrs Sutton	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W	NEAC, SBA
34	141	West	J. Aumonier	The Strayed Flock	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	GG
34	142	West	William Llewellyn	Harlyn Bay, North Cornwall Coast.	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
34	143	West	Miss Ethel Wright	Mrs Splatt	1866-1939	F	British	Woodbridge House, Elm Tree Road, N.W.	
35	144	East	Leslie Giffen Cauldwell	Evening Shades	1861-1941	M	American	11, Rue Boissonade, Paris	
35	145	East	W. H. Margetson	In the Lamplight	1861-1940	M	British	1 Lennard Place, Circus Road, N.W	GG
35	146	East	Mrs Louise Jopling	A Michaelmas Daisy	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	GG
35	147	East	Arthur Melville	The Hill Farm	1855-1904	M	British	2 Stratford Avenue, Kensington, W	RWS
36	148	East	H. Muhrman	View of Highgate	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
36	149	East	Charles Wilkinson	When the Evening Sun is Low. The Ouse, St Ives	fl.1881-1925	M	British	18 Fitzroy Street	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
36	150	East	Adolph Birkenruth	In the Artists' Quarter, Paris	1861-1940	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.	
36	151	East	W. Brown Macdougall	Landscape	1868-1936	M	British	241 West George Street, Glasgow	
37	152	East	Henry Simpson	Lillian	1853-1921	M	British	Carlyle Studios, 296 King's Road, S.W	NEAC, GG
37	153	East	A. Nozal	La Creuze à Croyant	1852-1929	M	French	7 Quai de Passy, Paris	
37	154	East	Edouard Rischgitz	Picnicing on the Thames - Blue Bells	1828-1909	M	Swiss	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, W.	
37	155	East	Charles Vigor	Mrs Tennent	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
38	156	East	Mrs Marianne Stokes	Voilà ton Maitre. Il le fut. Il l'est. Ou le doit etre.	1855-1927	F	Australian		GG
38	157	East	W. H. Y. Titcomb	The Medway at Upnor	1858-1930	M	British	Oakham House, Culverden Road, Balham	SBA
38	158	East	A. Nozal	Marine à Etretat	1852-1929	M	French	7 Quai de Passy, Paris	
38	159	East	F. Cayley Robinson	When the Tide is Low	1862-1927	M	British	6 Portsdown Road, Maida Hill	
39	160	East	Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Poor Ned	1859-1912	F	Canadian	Cliff Castle Cottage, Penzance	NEAC, SBA, GG
39	161	East	H. Muhrman	Dark Flowers	1854-1916	M	American	Duncan Cottage, South End Road, N.W.	GG
39	162	East	Arthur Melville	A Cornfield	1855-1904	M	British	2 Stratford Avenue, Kensington, W	RWS

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
39	163	East	F. M. Skipworth	A Butterfly of Fashion	1854-1929	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road	GG
39	164	East	Ernest Sichel	Lady in an Evening Dress	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
40	165	East	Champion Jones	On the Orwell - Sutton	1856-1912	M	British	77 St Geogre's Square, Tufnell Park	GG
40	166	East	Henry J. Hudson	"Thaisa"	fl.1881-1912	M	British	Alexandra Studios, South Kensington	
40	167	East	Miss Lovering	A Marken Child	fl.1881-1915	F	British	41A Cathcart Road, South Kensington	
40	168	East	Charles Watson	Fishing Boats - North Holland	1846-1927	M	British	Hogarth Club, Dover Street	
40	169	East	Fred H. A. Parker	A Challenge	fl.1888-1904	M	British	17 Keppel Street, W.C.	NEAC, SBA
41	170	East	C. Gogin	By the Waterside	b.1844	M	British	Laguna, Shoreham, Sussex	NEAC
41	171	East	Frank Hind	Andalusian Boy	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
41	172	East	Ernest W. Appleby	A Maiden Fair to See	1862-1909	M	British	9 Bolton Studios, South Kensington, London	GG
41	173	East	Frank Hind	An Andalusian Gypsy Girl	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
41	174	East	Janet D. Cowan	"Un Sou Madame"	fl.1882-1894	F	British	35 Gloucester Road, Regent's Park	
42	175	East	Charles McEwen	A Crown of the Column	1843-1892	M	British	79 West George Street, Glasgow	
42	176	East	Hubert Vos	M. H. Spielmann, Esq.	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studio, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W	NEAC, SBA

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
42	177	East	A. E. Emslie	The Age of Impudence	1848-1918	M	British	17 North Audley Street, W	RWS, GG
42	178	East	A. Nozal	Du Haut de la Falaise d'Orval, Seine, Inferieure	1852-1929	M	French	7 Quai de Passy, Paris	
42	179	East	Adolph Birkenruth	Summer Time	1861-1940	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.	
43	180	East	Miss Edith James	"Daisy"	fl.1883-1896	F	British	129 Wardour Street, W.	
43	181	East	R. Ponsonby Staples	View from Bedford Monument, Bath	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
43	182	East	Mlle Anna Bilinska	Portrait of the Artist	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue Fleurus, Paris	
43	183	East	Mary Simpson	Perdita	fl.1888-1889	F	British		
43	184	East	A. Ludovici, Jnr	"A Red Note"	1852-1932	M	British	105 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	SBA
44	185	East	Miss Margaret Bird	A Cardinal	1864-1948	F	British	St Wilfrid's, Hayward's Heath, Sussex	
44	186	East	E. Cagniart	Bords de l'Isole - Quimperlé	1851-1911	M	French	Hanover Gallery, Bond Street, London	
44	187	East	Miss L. Lucas	Loch Tyne		F		174 Fulham Road, S.W.	
44	188	East	Ellis Roberts	The Honble. Hilda Keppel	1860-1930	M	British	2A Limerston Street, Fulham Road, S.W	GG
44	189	East	Miss Edith James	A Quiet Corner	fl.1883-1896	F	British	129 Wardour Street, W.	
45	190	East	E. Cagniart	Étang - Vaucresson	1851-1911	M	French	Hanover Gallery, Bond Street, London	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
45	191	East	Peter MacNab	Sea and Sky	1864-1900	M	British	209 Maida Vale	SBA
45	192	East	Miss Helen Power	Tresses like the Morn	fl.1881-1889	F	British	West Hill, Richmond	
45	193	East	James B. Pryde	A Study	1866-1941	M	British	10 Fettes Row, Edinburgh	
45	194	East	James E. Christie	My Little Girl	1847-1914	M	British	Bolton House, Church Street, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
46	195	East	Theodore Cook	The Local Post Office	1867-1928	M	British	2 St John's Wood Studios, N.W	
46	196	East	Thomas Riley	Biondina	fl.1880-1892	M	British	1 Manresa Road, S.W.	GG
46	197	East	Charles H. Shannon	"The Sheep hear his Voice"	1863-1937	M	British	The Vale, King's Road, Chelsea	GG
46	198	East	James Macbeth	Mrs Gwynne Herberte	1847-1891	M	British	11 Goldhurst Terrace, West Hampstead	
46	199	East	Theodore Cook	On The Upper Thames	1867-1928	M	British	2 St John's Wood Studios, N.W	
47	200	East	Miss Lovering	Miss Florence Lovering	fl.1881-1915	F	British	41A Cathcart Road, South Kensington	
47	201	East	John Pedder	Evening, Studland Bay	1850-1929	M	British	Cookham Deane, Berkshire	GG
47	202	East	R. Ponsonby Staples	Morning	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
47	203	East	S. Sidley	Phyllis	1829-1896	M	British	8 Victoria Road, Kensington	GG
47	204	East	Mrs W. E. Hine	The Courtyard Itham Mote	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Westcott, Dorking	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
48	205	East	Ernest R. Fox	Misty Moonlight	1862-1917	M	British	Fordington House, Stroud, Kent	NEAC
48	206	East	E. F. Brewtnall	A Lady's Portrait	1846-1902	M	British	Orchard House, Westcott, Dorking	RWS, SBA
48	207	East	Charles McEwen	Surrey Downs and St Martha's	1843-1892	M	British	79 West George Street, Glasgow	
48	208	East	Mrs Theodore Bowens	A Chelsea Pensioner		M		32 Gloucester Street, S.W. London	
48	209	East	Miss Eva E. Hunt	Japanese Anemones	fl.1880-1890	F	British	4 Hyde Vale, Greenwich	GG
49	210	East	William Llewellyn	Sunshine and Cloud	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
49	211	East	Fred H. A. Parker	A Thorn	fl.1888-1904	M	British	17 Keppel Street, W.C.	NEAC, SBA
49	212	East	St. George Hare	Portrait of a Lady	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliife Road, S.W	
49	213	East	Ernest R. Fox	"In the Gloaming"	1862-1917	M	British	Fordington House, Stroud, Kent	NEAC
49	214	East	Miss Dora Noyes	The Last Days of Autumn	fl.1883-1907	F	British	Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	
50	215	East	J. Nelson-Drummond	A Fog Siren	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	
50	216	East	T. Blake Wirgman	Cecile	1848-1925	M	British	24 Dawson Place, Pembridge Square	
50	217	East	W. H. Y. Titcomb	Ta-ta, baby	1858-1930	M	British	Oakham House, Culverden Road, Balham	SBA

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
50	218	East	John Burr	Flower Girl	1831-1893	M	British	86 Adelaide Road, N.W.	RWS, GG
50	219	East	E. M. Osborn	A Summer Night	1828-1913	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W	
51	220	East	Miss C. A. Cockerell	Roses	fl.1884-1910	F	British	9A Addison Terrace, Holland Park, W	
51	221	East	J. Buxton Knight	A Duck Pond	1843-1908	M	British	9 Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.	NEAC, GG
51	222	East	Adolph Birkenruth	Souvenir de Bal	1861-1940	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.	
51	223	East	Arthur Hacker	Nerina	1858-1919	M	British	74 Fellowes Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
51	224	East	John Pedder	Sheep Fold	1850-1929	M	British	Cookham Deane, Berkshire	GG
52	225	East	Arthur Severn	Cloud effect near Folkestone	1842-1931	M	British	Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire	GG
52	226	East	C. Macdonald Clarke	A Misty Moonlight		M		Knole View, Knole Road, Bournemouth	
52	227	East	St. Clair Simmons	Youth	fl.1880-1917	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, Campden Hill, W.	
52	228	East	A. Helcké	A View near Hearn - Sunset	1843-1912	M	British	1 Langham Studios, Portland Place, W.	GG
52	229	East	Miss Ethel Wright	Mon Amie	1866-1939	F	British	Woodbridge House, Elm Tree Road, N.W.	
53	230	East	R. W. Allan	A Dutch River	1852-1942	M	British	2 Spenser Street, Victoria Street, London, S.W.	RWS, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
53	231	East	Alfred F. Poncy	God's Acre	fl.1880-1890	M	British	59 Sistora Road, Balham, S.W.	
53	232	East	Fritz Althaus	Portwrinkle, Whelsands Bay, Cornwall	1863-1962	M	British	87 Iverson Road, West Hampstead, London	
53	233	East	Miss K. McClausland	Étude de Vieillard	fl.1884-1909	F	British	48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill	
53	234	East	Miss Florence Small	Jeune Picarde	fl.1880-1932	F	British	Cavendish Cresent, The Park, Nottingham	
54	235	East	W. G. Wills	Miss Constance Alison Stewart	1828-1891	M	Irish	6 Penywern Road, Earl's Court Road	
54	236	East	Mrs W. E. Hine	A Garden in Kent	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Westcott, Dorking	
54	237	East	R. Beavis	Arab Sheep-Desert of Sinai	1824-1892	M	British	16 Notting Hill Square, W. London	RWS, GG
54	238	East	W. H. Roe	By Norfolk Waters	fl.1882-1909	M	British	Brook Green Studio, West Kensington	
54	239	East	F. M. Skipworth	Looking Back	1854-1929	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road	GG
55	240	East	E. M. Osborn	On the Zattore (sic), Venice	1828-1913	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W	
55	241	East	Alfred Hitchens	From Pastures Green	b.1861	M	British	11 Marlborough Road, N.W.	GG
55	242	East	Mrs Lilly Delissa Joseph	A Bit of Old Blue	1863-1940	F	British		
55	242a	East	Rudolf Blind	A Portrait	1846-1889	M	British	102 Fellowes Road, N.W. London	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
55	243	East	A. K. Brown	Winter Moonlight	1849-1922	M	British	Wellington Studios, Glasgow	GG
56	244	East	Miss Hilda Montalba	Forgotten	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Mews Studio	GG
56	245	East	H. F. W. Ganz	Good Dog "Rover"	fl.1888-1919	M	British	126 Harley Street, W.	GG
56	246	East	Gabriel Thompson	Study of Bavarian Village	1861-1935	M	British	Redlands, Bridgwater	
56	247	East	Fred H. A. Parker	A Portrait	fl.1888-1904	M	British	17 Keppel Street, W.C.	NEAC, SBA
56	248	East	W. J. Hennessey	A Summer Night	1839-1917	M	Irish	Pavilion Montespan, St Germain-en-Laye	GG
57	249	East	J. R. Tayler	By the Hayrick		M		151 Brixton Road, S.W.	
57	250	East	F. E. Sherrard	Study of a Boy's Head	fl.1884-1895	F	British	7 Oxford Square, Hyde Park	
57	251	East	J. Andrew Lloyd	Water Meadows, Manton	fl.1888-1911	M	British	The Studio, Marlborough, Wiltshire	GG
57	252	East	Henry Fanner	The Lady Angus Cooper	1854-1889	M	British	104 Earl's Court Road, S.W.	
57	253	East	Miss Gertrude B. May	White and Purple Iris	fl.1880-1890	F	British	15 Lennard Place, W	GG
58	254	East	A. E. Emslie	The Age of Innocence	1848-1918	M	British	17 North Audley Street, W	RWS, GG
58	255	East	St. George Hare	Miss Charlton	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliife Road, S.W	
58	256	East	E. M. Osborn	Parted Lovers	1828-1913	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
58	257	East	F. C. Batson	A Bend of the River Kennet	fl.1889-1926	M	British	The Rookery, Rambury, Hungerford.	
58	258	East	A. Ludovici, Jnr	In the Garden	1852-1932	M	British	105 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	SBA
59	259	East	Miss Eva Methuen	Study of a Child's Head	fl.1889-1893	F	British	41 Cathcart Road, South Kensington	
59	260	East	Miss Ada R. Holland	Sylvia	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	
59	261	East	J. Herbert Snell	After a Stormy Day	1861-1935	M	British	20 Southampton Street, W.C.	SBA, GG
59	262	East	Herbert Schmalz	Roger	1856-1935	M	British	Holland Park Road Studios, Kensington	
59	263	East	J. Nelson-Drummond	North Sea Trawlers	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	
60	264	Third Room	W. J. Hennessey	Springtime	1839-1917	M	Irish	Pavilion Montespan, St Germain-en-Laye	GG
60	265	Third Room	Miss Edith James	Minette	fl.1883-1896	F	British	129 Wardour Street, W.	
60	266	Third Room	W. J. Hennessey	Magnolia	1839-1917	M	Irish	Pavilion Montespan, St Germain-en-Laye	GG
60	267	Third Room	James Macbeth	Mrs Arthur Thomson	1847-1891	M	British	11 Goldhurst Terrace, West Hampstead	
61	268	Third Room	Mrs A. Weir	Portrait	fl.1884-1891	F	British	6 New Compton, Soho	
61	269	Third Room	J. Andrew Lloyd	The Kennet	fl.1888-1911	M	British	The Studio, Marlborough, Wiltshire	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
61	270	Third Room	John Charlton	The Brow of the Hill	1849-1917	M	British		SBA
61	271	Third Room	J. Haynes Williams	La Morena	1836-1908	M	British	Maresfield Gardens, N.W.	GG
61	272	Third Room	W. J. Hennessey	The Rose Garden	1839-1917	M	Irish	Pavilion Montespan, St Germain-en-Laye	GG
62	273	Third Room	Miss Florence White	Clare	fl.1881-1936	F	British	Bolton Studios, South Kensington	GG
62	274	Third Room	J. Ernest Breun	A Portrait	1862-1921	M	British		
62	275	Third Room	W. J. Hennessey	The Double Rainbow	1839-1917	M	Irish	Pavilion Montespan, St Germain-en-Laye	GG
62	276	Third Room	Edward Tayler	The Locket	1828-1906	M	British	37 Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W	GG
62	277	Third Room	Reginald Machell	The Peri at the Gate of Heaven	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W	GG
63	278	Third Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Miss Ellen Terry	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place, N.W.	GG
63	279	Third Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Alma	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place, N.W.	GG
63	280	Third Room	Robert Noble	A Cornfield	1857-1917	M	British	16 Picardy Place, Edinburgh	GG
63	281	Third Room	William Llewellyn	Fishing	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
63	282	Third Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Portrait of the Artist	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place, N.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
64	283	Third Room	W. Colebrooke Stockdale	Brodrick Bay and Castle		M		Melrose, Central Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.	
64	284	Third Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Mrs W. H. Wills	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place, N.W.	GG
64	285	Third Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Amelia	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place, N.W.	GG
64	286	Third Room	J. C. Farrer	A Quiet Evening	1839-1891	M	British	35 King Henry's Road, N.W.	GG
64	287	Third Room	Herbert Schmalz	Annabel Lee	1856-1935	M	British	Holland Park Road Studios, Kensington	
65	288	Third Room	H. T. Schaffer	Summer Rain	1873-1915	M	French	3 Acacia Gardens, N.W.	
65	289	Third Room	Mrs J. E. Gorst	Evening	fl.1889-1899	F	British	22 Cottesmore Gardens, Kensington	Mary Elizabeth Moore
65	290	Third Room	Frank Hind	The Scandal Monger - Granada	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
65	291	Third Room	Arthur Severn	Westminster, before the Embankment	1842-1931	M	British	Brantwood, Coniston, Lancashire	GG
65	292	Third Room	R. H. Humphreys	Nœmi		M		81 Boulevard, Montparnasse, Paris	
66	293	Third Room	Mrs W. E. Hine	Sun Setting Over a Manufacturing Town	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Westcott, Dorking	
66	294	Third Room	G. A. Storey, A.R.A.	The Sweet Neglect	1834-1919	M	British	39 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead	
66	295	Third Room	Mrs Agnes Schenk	A Normandy Peasant	fl.1880-1889	F	British	Stanfield House, High Street, Hampstead	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
66	296	Third Room	Charles Watson	Quai de la Cité, Paris	1846-1927	M	British	Hogarth Club, Dover Street	
66	297	Third Room	James E. Grace	Hayfield	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Godalming, Surrey	SBA, GG
67	298	Third Room	James Clark	Lillian and Spot	1858-1943	M	British	Ash Cottage, Quill Lane, Putney	GG
67	299	Third Room	E. M. Osborn	Venice, From the Lagune	1828-1913	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W	
67	300	Third Room	Frank L. Emanuel	Charles L. Emanuel	1865-1948	M	British	60 Bedford Gardens, W.	
67	301	Third Room	R. H. Humphreys	La Première Communion		M		81 Boulevard, Montparnasse, Paris	
67	302	Third Room	Isabel de Steiger	A Portrait	1836-1927	F	British	58 Bloomfield Road, Maida Hill	
68	303	Third Room	R. Wane	A Silvery Day	1852-1904	M	British	Allandale, Deganway, Conway	GG
68	304	Third Room	Edouard Rischgitz	Catching Deer in Cranbourne Paddock	1828-1909	M	Swiss	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, W.	
68	305	Third Room	Mrs Lilly Delissa Joseph	Heliotrope	1863-1940	F	British		
69	306	Fourth Room	F. Baden-Powell	Leonidæ	1850-1933	F	British	8 St. George's Place, S.W	
69	307	Fourth Room	Radcliffe W. Radcliffe	Where They Parted	fl.1881-1895	M	British	Rogate, Petersfield, Hampshire	GG
69	308	Fourth Room	H. S. Rathbone	In Dreamland	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steele's Studios, Haverstock Hill	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
69	309	Fourth Room	W. Colebrooke Stockdale	A Peep at the San Giorgio, Venice		M		Melrose, Central Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.	
70	310	Fourth Room	Mary Drew	The Grandame	fl.1880-1902	F	British	7 New Court, Carey Street, Lincoln's Inn, W.C.	
70	311	Fourth Room	Miss M. C. Blackwood Price	A Study From Life	fl.1885-1903	F	British	126 Cromwell Road, W	
70	311a	Fourth Room	Miss M. C. Blackwood Price	The Serenade	fl.1885-1903	F	British	126 Cromwell Road, W	
70	312	Fourth Room	W. Colebrooke Stockdale	Aurora		M		Melrose, Central Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.	
70	313	Fourth Room	W. J. Hennessey	A Secret	1839-1917	M	Irish	Pavilion Montespan, St Germain-en-Laye	GG
71	314	Fourth Room	Miss Sophia Beale	Miss Edith Edis	1837-1920	F	British	35 Albany Street, N.W. London	
71	314a	Fourth Room	Miss Ida Lovering	A Frieslaenderin	fl.1881-1915	F	British	41A Cathcart Road, South Kensington	
71	314b	Fourth Room	Miss Ida Lovering	A Study	fl.1881-1915	F	British	41A Cathcart Road, South Kensington	
71	315	Fourth Room	Edgar Wills	The Deben River - Low Tide	1849-1907	M	British	South Weuld, Brentwood	
71	316	Fourth Room	A. Dampier May	Mdme. Marie Rose as Carmen	1857-1916	M	British	9 Elm Tree Road, N.W.	GG
72	317	Fourth Room	Miss Hilda Montalba	Campden House	1846-1919	F	British	Campden House Mews Studio	GG
72	318	Fourth Room	Eric Forbes-Robertson	The Evening Sun	1865-1935	M	British	22 Bedford Square	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
72	319	Fourth Room	H. S. Rathbone	Autumn Afternoon in the Luxembourg Gardens, Paris	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steele's Studios, Haverstock Hill	GG
72	320	Fourth Room	Francis O'Connor	The Late John O'Connor, R.I.R.H.A.	fl.1889-1895	M	British	Gloucester House, Messina Avenue, W. Hampstead	
72	321	Fourth Room	Edgar Wills	On the Firth of Forth	1849-1907	M	British	South Weuld, Brentwood	
73	322	Fourth Room	Miss Winifred Hope Thomson	"Toto"	1864-1944	F	British	57 Onslow Square, S.W.	
73	323	Fourth Room	Mrs Agnes Schenk	A Study From Life	fl.1880-1889	F	British	Stanfield House, High Street, Hampstead	
73	324	Fourth Room	E. F. Brewtnall	Miss Faraday	1846-1902	M	British	Orchard House, Westcott, Dorking	RWS, SBA
73	325	Fourth Room	Edouard Rischgitz	The Broad Walk, Kennsington Gardens	1828-1909	M	Swiss	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, W.	
73	326	Fourth Room	Reginald Machell	Mrs H. Machell	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W	GG
74	327	Fourth Room	Miss Ellen G. Cohen	The Wash House, Breda, Holland	fl.1884-1905	F	British	21 Hamilton Terrace, N.W	
74	328	Fourth Room	Miss E. M. Burrell	A Study	fl.1887-1889	F	British	28 Gloucester Terrace, W. London	
74	328a	Fourth Room	Miss Ines Gibson	A Study in Grey		F		18 West Cromwell Road, S.W.	
74	329	Fourth Room	M. E. Kindon	Study of Sunlight	1849-1919	F	British	Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
74	330	Fourth Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Una Tellerana	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place, N.W.	GG
75	331	Fourth Room	Walter Blackmann	The Old Time Steamer, Venice	1847-1928	M	American	Campden Studio, Campden Hill Road, W.	
75	332	Fourth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Among the Hedgerows Green	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
75	333	Fourth Room	Mrs M. H. Earnshaw	Miss Bella Earnshaw	fl.1889-1904	F	British	15 Newman Street, W	
75	334	Fourth Room	Walter Blackmann	Venetian Fisherman	1847-1928	M	American	Campden Studio, Campden Hill Road, W.	
75	335	Fourth Room	Miss Ethel S. King	Mrs Selfe	fl.1885-1925	F	British	1 St Mark's Balderton Street, W.	
76	336	Fourth Room	R. H. Humphreys	Evening		M		81 Boulevard, Montparnasse, Paris	
76	337	Fourth Room	Miss Lovering	Miss L. Hale	fl.1881-1915	F	British	41A Cathcart Road, South Kensington	
76	338	Fourth Room	Miss Margaret Bird	A Normandy Poppy Field	1864-1948	F	British	St Wilfrid's, Hayward's Heath, Sussex	
76	339	Fourth Room	Arthur S. Haynes	Low Water at the Porth	fl.1885-1906	M	British	South Heath, Hampstead Heath, N.W.	
76	340	Fourth Room	Miss Helen Donald Smith	Marjorie, Lettice and Cicely	fl.1880-1930	F	British	1 Eldon Road, Kensington	GG
77	341	Fourth Room	Miss Ines Gibson	Sketch of a Head		F			
77	342	Fourth Room	J. Nelson-Drummond	Note For a Forge	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
77	342a	Fourth Room	Miss Maud Coleridge	Baby-Daughter of W. Moresby Chinnery, Esq.	fl.1889-1903	F	British	Salston, St Mary, Ottery	
77	343	Fourth Room	Bernard Lucas	Beachy Head	1853-1910	M	British	47 Leicester Square, W	GG
77	344	Fourth Room	J. Coutts Michie	The Crofters' Harvest	1859-1919	M	British	1 Crown Place, Aberdeen	GG
78	345	Fourth Room	Miss Annie Stewart Miles	Juanita	fl.1888-1907	F	British	15 Fitzroy Street, W	
78	346	Fourth Room	Mlle Anna Bilinska	Une Bohémienne	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue Fleurus, Paris	
78	347	Fourth Room	Miss Emily Mitchell	"The Sweetest Little Maid, that ever crow'd for kisses"	fl.1887-1889	F	British	13 Fitzroy Street	
78	348	Fourth Room	Edouard Rischgitz	Chesnut Avenue, Kensington Gardens	1828-1909	M	Swiss	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens, W.	
78	349	Fourth Room	S. W. Poynter	The British Sinai - A Study (in Skye) for a water-colour drawing		M		Great Wakering, South End, Essex	
79	350	Fourth Room	Charles Vigor	A Midsummer Fairy	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
79	351	Fourth Room	H. S. Rathbone	Miss Mathilda Blind	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steele's Studios, Haverstock Hill	GG
79	352	Fourth Room	Reginald Machell	With Gentle Pride and Sweet Disdain	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W	GG
79	353	Fourth Room	F. M. Lutyens	Elsie	1860-1924	M	British	16 Onslow Square, S.W.	GG

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Grosvenor Gallery Pastel Show 1889

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
79	354	Fourth Room	J. R. Tayler	Pondering		M		151 Brixton Road, S.W.	
80	355	Fourth Room	Miss Ellen G. Cohen	Katerina	fl.1884-1905	F	British	21 Hamilton Terrace, N.W	
80	356	Fourth Room	H. T. Schaffer	Summer Time	1873-1915	M	French	3 Acacia Gardens, N.W.	
80	357	Fourth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Night	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
80	358	Fourth Room	Miss Ethel Haynes-Williams	Fruit	fl.1886-1894	F	British	Maresfield Gardens, N.W.	
80	359	Fourth Room	Alfred Morgan	A Darling Attempt	1836-1924	M	British	12 Hertford Gardens, Albert Bridge, S.W	GG
81	360	Fourth Room	Miss Ethel S. King	Study of a Child's Head	fl.1885-1925	F	British	1 St Mark's Balderton Street, W.	
81	361	Fourth Room	Miss Margaret Chomeley	Rev. J. Chomeley		F		Swanby Rectory, Alford, Lincolnshire	
81	362	Fourth Room	Jan V. Chelminski	Despatches to the Front, 1815	1851-1925	M	Polish	Warwick Studio, Kensington Road, W	
81	363	Fourth Room	E. Tofano	Elsie	1838-1920	M	Italian	2 Park Row, Knightsbridge	
82	364	Fifth Room	J. Eyre Jackson	Study of a Head	fl.1882-1906	M	British	Buttlands, Watt's Lane, Eastbourne	
82	365	Fifth Room	Miss E. Tolhurst	Amy, in Fancy Costume	fl.1888-1904	F	British	1 Highbury Quadrant, N	
82	366	Fifth Room	Walter Blackmann	The Evening Hour	1847-1928	M	American	Campden Studio, Campden Hill Road, W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
82	367	Fifth Room	W. J. Moore	Rosarita	fl.1885-1895	M	British	c/o A. G. Forbes, 18 Alfred Place, S.W.	
83	368	Fifth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	A Summer Holiday	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
83	369	Fifth Room	Mrs M. H. Earnshaw	On the Threshold	fl.1889-1904	F	British	15 Newman Street, W	
83	370	Fifth Room	Paul Knight	On his own Hook		M		Min-Afon-Bettws-y-Coed, North Wales	
83	371	Fifth Room	Miss Ellen Montalba	Lola - Daughter of Sir Francis de Winton	1842-1902	F	British	Campden House Mews Studio	
83	372	Fifth Room	Fritz Althaus	A June Evening	1863-1962	M	British	87 Iverson Road, West Hampstead, London	
84	373	Fifth Room	Miss Ethel Wright	Sketch at Meudon, Paris	1866-1939	F	British	Woodbridge House, Elm Tree Road, N.W.	
84	374	Fifth Room	Henry Charles Heath	Rodney Fennessy, Esq.	1829-1898	M	British	12 Pall Mall East	
84	375	Fifth Room	Leslie Giffen Cauldwell	At Sunset	1861-1941	M	American	11, Rue Boissonade, Paris	
84	376	Fifth Room	J. Milner Kite	Après le Bain	1862-1945	M	British	15 Rue Campagne Première, Bd, Montparnasse, Paris	
84	377	Fifth Room	Miss Clara Montalba	H.M.S. Anson - Spithead, August - 1886	1842-1929	F	British	Campden House Mews Studio	RWS
85	378	Fifth Room	J. Nelson-Drummond	Eventide	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
85	379	Fifth Room	Francis Bate	"Dora" from Ibsen's Doll's House	1858-1950	M	British	Applegarth Studio, Augustin Road, W. London	
85	380	Fifth Room	Henry Charles Heath	Forsaken. On the Coast of Dovercourt	1829-1898	M	British	12 Pall Mall East	
85	381	Fifth Room	Charles Vigor	Love in Ambush	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
85	382	Fifth Room	E. M. Osborn	Noon	1828-1913	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W	
86	383	Fifth Room	Arthur Tomson	Near Poole Harbour	1859-1905	M	British	20 St John's Wood Road, N.W.	GG
86	384	Fifth Room	J. Nelson-Drummond	Fishing the Creek - Moonrise	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Russell Street, W.C.	
86	385	Fifth Room	A. Ludovici, Jnr	Gaslight	1852-1932	M	British	105 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	SBA
86	386	Fifth Room	James Macbeth	Mrs Macbeth	1847-1891	M	British	11 Goldhurst Terrace, West Hampstead	
86	387	Fifth Room	Alan Wright	Gleeson White, Esq.	fl.1888-1897	M	British	88 Sterndale Road, W.	
87	388	Fifth Room	William Llewellyn	Sunshine and Mist	1858-1941	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
87	389	Fifth Room	Miss Maria Stanley	"Queenie"	fl.1884-1889	F	British	99 Fellowes Road, N.W.	
87	390	Fifth Room	Mrs Mary M. Wright	An Orchard by the Sea	fl.1884-1887	F	British	Goldieslie, Trumpington, Cambridge	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
87	391	Fifth Room	Henry Fanner	Dorothy, Daughter of E. A. Dalrymple, Esq.	1854-1889	M	British	104 Earl's Court Road, S.W.	
87	392	Fifth Room	Mrs M. H. Earnshaw	Night	fl.1889-1904	F	British	15 Newman Street, W	
88	393	Fifth Room	W. Brown Macdougall	Landscape	1868-1936	M	British	241 West George Street, Glasgow	
88	394	Fifth Room	Miss Maude Hastings	A Lamplight Study	fl.1889-1897	F	British	13 Neal Street, Bradford	
88	395	Fifth Room	Horace Hart	Boys Head	1864-1896	M	British	8 Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	
88	396	Fifth Room	Reginald Machell	Portrait	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W	GG
88	397	Fifth Room	Mrs F. Bannerman	In the Covent Garden	fl.1880-1891	F	British	Beaumont Rise, Gt. Marlow	
89	398	Fifth Room	Alfred Morgan	A Portrait	1836-1924	M	British	12 Hertford Gardens, Albert Bridge, S.W	GG
89	399	Fifth Room	Claude Hayes	A Dutch Village	1852-1922	M	British	Milford Health, Godalming, Surrey	GG
89	400	Fifth Room	Madame Arsene Darmesteter	A Portrait	1854-1923	F	British	6 Preville Road, London	
89	401	Fifth Room	Leslie Giffen Cauldwell	Porthmeor - St Ives.	1861-1941	M	American	11, Rue Boissonade, Paris	
89	402	Fifth Room	J. Ernest Breun	Miss Gertrude Titford	1862-1921	M	British		
90	403	Fifth Room	Edwin Hayes	"Schevening Beach"	1819-1904	M	British	Briscoe House, Steelis Road, N.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
90	404	Fifth Room	John Buxton Knight	A Duck Pond	1843-1908	M	British	9 Bridge Street, Westminster, S.W.	NEAC, GG
90	405	Fifth Room	Miss C. Flood-Jones	The Precentor of Westminister Abbey	fl.1886-1915	F	British	The Cloisters, Westminster	
90	406	Fifth Room	Miss Bertha Newcombe	Elizabeth	1857-1947	F	British	Northcote, East Croydon	NEAC
90	407	Fifth Room	Will Norris	For the Night	b.1857	M	British	38 Kersley Street, Battersea Park, S.W.	
91	408	Fifth Room	Frank Hind	La Siesta	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
91	409	Fifth Room	J. Aumonier	Evening	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	GG
91	410	Fifth Room	J. Coutts Michie	Meadowlands	1859-1919	M	British	1 Crown Place, Aberdeen	GG
91	411	Fifth Room	Mrs Louise Jopling	Winter	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	GG
91	412	Fifth Room	Radcliffe W. Radcliffe	Oats, Silver Oats	fl.1881-1895	M	British	Rogate, Petersfield, Hampshire	GG
92	413	Fifth Room	Mrs Louise Jopling	Madge	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	GG
92	414	Fifth Room	Mrs Louise Jopling	Portrait "Boysey"	1843-1933	F	British	8 Cranley Place, Onslow Gardens, S.W.	GG
92	415	Fifth Room	Mrs Agnes Schenk	Catherine, Daughter of Wilson Barrett, Esq.	fl.1880-1889	F	British	Stanfield House, High Street, Hampstead	
92	416	Fifth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Albert Gate, Hyde Park	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
92	417	Fifth Room	A. Dampier May	Cupid	1857-1916	M	British	9 Elm Tree Road, N.W.	GG
93	418	Fifth Room	Henry Fanner	Miss Coleridge Kennard	1854-1889	M	British	104 Earl's Court Road, S.W.	
93	419	Fifth Room	Bertram Priestman	Across the Sands	1868-1951	M	British	Wentworth Studios, Manresa Road, S.W	
93	420	Fifth Room	Mrs M. J. Moberley	Mrs C. J. Knowles	b.1855	F	British	1 Cheniston Gardens Studio, Kensington	
93	421	Fifth Room	Frank Hind	By the Light of the Morn	fl.1884-1904	M	British	Trent Villa, Leamington	GG
93	422	Fifth Room	Edward Tayler	Childhood	1828-1906	M	British	37 Gloucester Place, Portman Square, W.	GG
94	423	Fifth Room	H. Hanson Walker	Age of Happiness	1844-1933	M	British	88 Kensington Park Road, W	
94	424	Fifth Room	Will Norris	Ploughing	b.1857	M	British	38 Kersley Street, Battersea Park, S.W.	
94	425	Fifth Room	Alan Wright	Mrs Campbell Perugini	fl.1888-1897	M	British	88 Sterndale Road, W.	
94	426	Fifth Room	M. Constance Stacpoole	Miss Edith Stacpoole		F		151 Gloucester Road, South Kensington	
94	427	Fifth Room	Robert Noble	The Meadow	1857-1917	M	British	16 Picardy Place, Edinburgh	GG
95	428	Fifth Room	Miss H. Corkran	"Arethusa," the Poppy Girl	d.1911	F	British		
95	429	Fifth Room	W. Colebrooke Stockdale	The Liberation of Venice - Garibaldini Passing the Statue of Bartolomeo Coleone		M		Melrose, Central Hill, Upper Norwood, S.E.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
95	430	Fifth Room	G. C. Kerr	The Busy Thames	fl.1878-1907	M	British	Gillingham House, Gillingham, Kent	
95	431	Fifth Room	Miss Harriet Sutcliffe	Study of a Head	fl.1881-1907	F	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London	
95	432	Fifth Room	Arthur Tomson	Morning - Picardy	1859-1905	M	British	20 St John's Wood Road, N.W.	GG
96	433	Fifth Room	Mrs Waller	Boy with Cherries	fl.1877-1917	F	British	58 Circus Road, N.W.	GG; Mary L Fowler
96	434	Fifth Room	M. Constance Stacpoole	Mrs Walter Rigden		F		151 Gloucester Road, South Kensington	
96	435	Fifth Room	Edgar Wills	A Breezy Day	1849-1907	M	British	South Weuld, Brentwood	
96	436	Fifth Room	Val Davis	The Fading Day	1854-1930	M	British	33 Upper Park Road, N.W	NEAC, SBA
96	437	Fifth Room	Miss Margaret Bird	A Study	1864-1948	F	British	St Wilfrid's, Hayward's Heath, Sussex	
97	438	Fifth Room	Miss Ada R. Holland	Nature and Patience	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	
97	439	Fifth Room	Miss Anabel Downes	Counting the Spoils	fl.1885-1890	F	British	19 Upper Philimore Place, Kensington, W	GG
97	439a	Fifth Room	Mrs F. Tobin	A Study	fl.1889-1890	F	British	44 Brook Street, W.	GG
97	440	Fifth Room	J. Coutts Michie	The Marchioness of Huntly	1859-1919	M	British	1 Crown Place, Aberdeen	GG
97	441	Fifth Room	Mrs W. E. Hine	Evening at Sea	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Westcott, Dorking	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
97	442	Fifth Room	W. Herbert Roe	Madeline, A Study	fl.1882-1909	M	British	Brook Green Studio, West Kensington	
98	443	Fifth Room	F.De Marneff Stark	R. Stark, Esq.		M		Yelfords, Chagford, Devon	
98	444	Fifth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	The Enclosure, Wimbledon	1853-1943	M	Irish	Grey House, Honiton Street, Kensington, W	GG
98	445	Fifth Room	Miss Clara Montalba	The Fleet Saluting, 5th August 1889	1842-1929	F	British	Campden House Mews Studio	RWS

Appendix C
Society of British Pastellists 1890

Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
7	1	West	William Norris	The Mower's Dinner Time	b.1857	M	British	38 Kersley Street, Battersea Park	
7	2	West	J. E. Blanche	Portrait of Madame A. H. in Blue	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Paris	SPF, NEAC
8	3	West	Mrs Marquita J. Moberley	Nasturtiums	1855-1927	F	British	24 Abercorn Place, N.W.	
8	4	West	Mark Fisher	An Old Dutch Village	1841-1923	M	British	Longstock, Stockbridge	GG
8	5	West	McLure Hamilton	Maud	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
8	6	West	Nelly Erichsen	A Windy Morning	1862-1918	F	British	Grove Cottage, Upper Tooting	
8	7	West	Miss Ada Holland	Grey and Gold	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studio, Manresa Road, S.W.	
9	8	West	Thomas Millie Dow	Carnations	1848-1919	M	British	5 Linwood Terrace, Hill Head, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
9	9	West	E. J. Gregory, A.R.A	A Study for a Portrait	1850-1909	M	British	Quarry Edge, Cookham Dene	GG
9	10	West	James MacBeth	A Black Squall	1847-1891	M	British	Churt, Surrey	
9	11	West	Miss Gertrude May	Study of Dahlias	fl.1887-1896	F	British	15 Leonard Place, W.	GG
9	12	West	A. C. Blunt	From Waterloo Bridge	1861-1934	M	British	Glebe Studios, Chelsea	GG
10	13	West	Miss Constance Stacpoole	A Bunch of Daisies	fl.1887-1924	F	British	151 Gloucester Road, South Kensington	
10	14	West	Mrs Branson	Sunset, Pangbourne		F		Park Point,Bessel's Green, Sevenoaks, Kent	
10	15	West	J. Aumonier	On a Common	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
10	16	West	Hubert Vos	Portrait of Mrs Edmund Davis	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studios, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
10	17	West	Miss Methvan	A Venetian Metal Polisher		F		2A Limerston Street, S.W.	
11	18	West	J. E. Blanche	Study of a Head for Stained Glass	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Paris	SPF, NEAC
11	19	West	John Frank Swingler	Shell-fish	fl.1886-1909	M	British	4 Lalor Street, Fulham,	
11	20	West	Miss Alma Broadbridge	Low Tide	fl.1880-1894	F	British	37 Silwood Road, Brighton	
11	21	West	Arthur Melville	After the Play	1855-1904	M	British	2 Stratford Avenue, Kensington	RWS, GG
11	22	West	Miss Gertrude May	Japanese Anemonies	fl.1887-1896	F	British	15 Leonard Place, W.	GG
12	23	West	James E. Christie	Lilian	1847-1914	M	British	181 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
12	24	West	Mark Fisher	Near Katwijk, Holland	1841-1923	M	British	Longstock, Stockbridge	GG
12	25	West	Edward Tofano	Mrs T. H. Holdsworth	1838-1920	M	Italian	2 Park Road, Knightsbridge	
12	26	West	Arthur Severn	Cloud Effect at Sea	1842-1931	M	British	Brantswood, Coniston, Lancashire	GG
12	27	West	Thomas Riley	"When the Evening Sun is Low"	fl.1880-1892	M	British	Gordon Studio, Manresa Road, S.W.	GG
13	28	West	Edwin Hayes	Shipping of the Thames, Greenhithe	1819-1904	M	British	Briscoe House, Steel's Road, N.W.	GG
13	29	West	Miss Alice Grant	"Day Dreams"	fl.1881-1907	F	British	151 Gloucester Road, S.W.	GG
13	30	West	Jan Toorop	Transporting a Fishing Smack, Holland	1858-1928	M	Dutch	Katwijk aan Zee, Holland	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
13	31	West	A. D. Peppercorn	Landscape	1847-1924	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead, Surrey	NEAC, GG
13	32	West	Miss Maud Coleridge	Miss Edith Ware - Portrait	fl.1888-1903	F	British	Thurloe Studios, Thurloe Square, S.W.	
14	33	West	Miss Jane Inglis	Sunset, Tintern. The Mists of the Evening	fl.1881-1916	F	British	7 Barton Street, Baron's Court, N.	
14	34	West	Hubert Vos	Margaretha, Daughter of the Artist	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studios, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
14	35	West	A. Birkenruth	On the East Coast	1861-1940	M	South African	57 Belford Gardens	GG
14	36	West	Ellis Roberts	Portrait of Viscount Bury	1860-1930	M	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	GG
14	37	West	McLure Hamilton	Sisters	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
15	38	West	Fernand Khnopff	"Les Nuages Passent"	1858-1921	M	Belgian	1 Rue St Bernard, Chaussée de Charleroy, Bruxelles	
15	39	West	William Stott of Oldham	Sapphire Glacier	1857-1900	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
15	40	West	Mrs E. Stanhope Forbes	"Open the Gates as High as the Sky, To let the King and Queen pass by."	1859-1912	F	Canadian	Cliff Castle Cottage, Paul, Penzance	NEAC, SBA, GG
15	41	West	P. S. Kroyer	Moissonneurs Italiens	1851-1909	M	Norwegian	Civita d'Antino, Prov. Di Aquilla, Italy	
15	42	West	William Stott of Oldham	"Fischerhorn"	1857-1900	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
16	43	West	Henry Muhrman	Vale of Health, Hampstead	1854-1916	M	American	Ivy Cottage, Southend Road, Hampstead	GG
16	44	West	J. E. Blanche	Madame Bordes - Péne at her Piano	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Paris	SPF, NEAC
16	45	West	Frank Batson	Old Mill on the Kennet	fl.1890-1926	M	British	Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street	
16	46	West	Hubert Vos	Marius, son of the Artist	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studios, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
16	47	West	Jan Toorop	Heaving the Anchor	1858-1928	M	Dutch	Katwijk aan Zee, Holland	
17	48	West	Miss Helen Coombe	Twilight		F		33 London Street, Fitzroy Square, W.C.	
17	49	West	Miss Maud Coleridge	"Tricotrine"	fl.1888-1903	F		Thurloe Studios, Thurloe Square, S.W.	
17	50	West	Kenneth Deas	The Harvest Moon	fl.1890-1892	M	British	40 Rosetti Garden Mansions, Chelsea	GG
17	51	West	Charles Vigor	"Not to be Played With"	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	GG
17	52	West	M. E. Kindon	By the Sounding Sea	1849-1919	F	British	1 Trafalgar Studios, Chelsea	Mary Evalina Kindon
18	53	West	C. H. Shannon	A Portrait Study	1863-1937	M	British	Alexandra Studios, Alfred Place, S.W.	GG
18	54	West	Mrs William Willson	Harold Willson		F	American	Little Queen Street, W.C.	Anna Maria Gause

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
18	55	West	Fritz Althaus	Beer Head, Devon	1863-1962	M	British	87 Iverson Road, West Hampstead	
18	56	West	Henry Simpson	A Study	1853-1921	M	British	296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
18	57	West	Arthur Melville	Walberswick Ferry	1855-1904	M	British	2 Stratford Avenue, Kensington	RWS, GG
19	58	West	William Stott of Oldham	"A Freshet"	1857-1900	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
19	59	West	Miss Eva E Hunt	Clematis	fl.1885-1894	F	British	4 Hyde Vale Villas, Greenwich	GG
19	60	West	Miss Blanche Macarthur	Nurse and Patient	fl.1880-1903	F	British	30 John Street, Bedford Road, W.C.	
19	61	West	F. F. Macpherson	Portrait of Sydney Colvin Esq., M.A.		M		23 Pembridge Crescent, W.	
19	62	West	Thomas Millie Dow	Evening, near Tangiers	1848-1919	M	British	5 Linwood Terrace, Hill Head, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
20	63	West	Ernest Sichel	A Portrait	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
20	64	West	A. D. Peppercorn	Landscape	1847-1924	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead, Surrey	NEAC, GG
20	65	West	Jean-François Raffaëli	Fleurs et Fruits	1850-1924	M	French	19 Rue de la Bibliotheque, Asnières, Nr. Paris	
20	66	West	Henry J. Hudson	A Study	fl.1881-1910	M	British	Alexandra Studios, Alfred Place, S.W.	GG
20	67	West	Thomas Millie Dow	Near Tangiers	1848-1919	M	British	5 Linwood Terrace, Hill Head, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
21	68	West	Albert Moore	A Bathing Place	1841-1893	M	British	1 Holland Lane, W.	RWS, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
21	69	West	J. Aumonier	A Wheat-Field	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	GG
21	70	West	Miss Eva E. Hunt	Study in White-Flowers	fl.1885-1894	F	British	4 Hyde Vale Villas, Greenwich	GG
21	71	West	Miss Jenny Scott-Smith	A Sincere Admirer	fl.1883-1903	F	British	Fern Bank, Ryde Vale Road, Balham, S.W.	
21	72	West	Albert Moore	A Girl's Head	1841-1893	M	British	1 Holland Lane, W.	RWS, GG
22	73	West	Arthur Melville	Southwold Beach	1855-1904	M	British	2 Stratford Avenue, Kensington	RWS, GG
22	74	West	P. S. Kroyer	Marie	1851-1909	M	Norwegian	Civita d'Antino, Prov. Di Aquilla, Italy	
22	75	West	Fred Brown	Moonrise	1851-1941	M	British	9 Victoria Grove, Fulham Road, S.W.	GG
22	76	West	Miss Dora Noyes	Beatrice, Daughter of the Rev. John Dene	fl.1883-1907	F	British	Trafalgar Studios, Chelsea	GG
22	77	West	Miss Emmeline Deane	Miss Manuela de Laska	1858-1944	F	British	30 Great Russell Street, W.C.	
23	78	West	Ernest Sichel	A Child's Funeral in the Highlands	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
23	79	West	Henry Muhrman	A Bosquet	1854-1916	M	American	Ivy Cottage, Southend Road, Hampstead	GG
23	80	West	P. S. Kroyer	Danish Artists in Civita D'Antino, Italy	1851-1909	M	Norwegian	Civita d'Antino, Prov. Di Aquilla, Italy	
23	81	West	Paul Knight	The Old Mill, Bettws-y-Coed, North Wales	fl.1883-1904	M	British	Min Afon, Bettws-y-Coed, North Wales	
23	82	West	Miss Christabel Cockerell	The Gardener's Daughter	1863-1951	F	British	9A Addison Terrace, Holland Park, W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
24	83	West	William Stott of Oldham	Sandpools	1857-1900	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
24	84	West	Frank Kelsey	Nocturne	1864-1932	M	British	42 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead	
24	85	West	C. M. Ross	Portrait of F. Marian Crawford		M		c/o Messrs Macmillan & Co. 29 Belford Street, W.C.	
24	86	West	Harold Rathbone	Maytime in a Cottage	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steel's Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	GG
24	87	West	J. J. Shannon	A Portrait	1862-1923	M	American	Alexandra Studios, Alfred Place, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
25	88	West	Geo. Clausen	A Sheepfold - Evening	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
25	89	West	Fernand Khnopff	Lawn Tennis	1858-1921	M	Belgian	1 Rue St Bernard, Chaussée de Charleroy, Bruxelles	
25	90	West	Miss Ethel Wright		1866-1939	F	British	Woodbridge House, Elm Tree Road, N.W.	
25	91	West	Miss Nelly Erichsen	Allotment Gardens	1862-1918	F	British	Grove Cottage, Upper Tooting	
25	92	West	J. J. Shannon	A Portrait	1862-1923	M	American	Alexandra Studios, Alfred Place, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
26	93	West	Ernest Sichel	A Beltane Fire	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
26	94	West	Albert Moore	Near Home	1841-1893	M	British	1 Holland Lane, W.	RWS, GG
26	95	West	James Guthrie	"Primevère"	1859-1930	M	British	7 Woodside Place, Glasgow	NEAC, GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
26	96	West	Miss Marion Gemmell	"Gladys" - Portrait of Miss Tombs	1838-1916	F	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	
26	97	West	Miss Helen Coombe	Portrait of Rosamond		F		33 London Street, Fitzroy Square, W.C.	
27	98	West	F. T. Sibley	"Tis past, the visionary splendour fades, And night approaches with her shades." Wordsworth	1837-1912	M	British	3 Garden Studios	
27	99	West	James S. Hill	Sundown	1854-1921	M	British	86 Fellows Road, N.W.	SBA
27	100	West	Ernest Sichel	A Sketch in the Library	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
27	101	West	William Stott of Oldham	Portrait of a Child	1857-1900	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
27	102	West	Henry Simpson	A Half-hour	1853-1921	M	British	296 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
28	103	West	James S. Hill	Durham	1854-1921	M	British	86 Fellows Road, N.W.	SBA
28	104	West	Miss Florence Small	Mon Amie	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	
28	105	West	James E. Christie	Phosphor	1847-1914	M	British	181 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
28	106	West	Albert Moore	Down the Road	1841-1893	M	British	1 Holland Lane, W.	RWS, GG
28	107	West	Geo. Clausen	Study of a Head	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
29	108	West	J. E. Blanche	A Study of a Head - A Girl Reading	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Paris	SPF, NEAC
29	109	West	The Late Alice Havers	Kenneth Havers, Esq. - Portrait	1850-1890	F	British		

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
29	110	West	Thomas Millie Dow	Roses	1848-1919	M	British	5 Linwood Terrace, Hill Head, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
29	111	West	Frank Batson	Copse in Spring	fl.1890-1926	M	British	Grosvenor Club, New Bond Street	
29	112	West	Hubert Vos	Portrait of Mrs Lebegue	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studios, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
30	113	West	Arthur S. Haynes	Willow Vale	fl.1885-1906	M	British	South Heath, Hampstead Heath, N.W.	
30	114	West	Mrs M. H. Earnshaw	Ellie Norwood, Esq. - Portrait	fl.1889-1904	F	British	65 Harley Street, W	
30	115	West	Miss Alma Broadbridge	Chrysanthemums	fl.1880-1894	F	British	37 Silwood Road, Brighton	
30	116	West	Herbert Goodall	A Grey Morning	1852-1907	M	British	7 Stanley Crescent, W.	
30	117	West	Reginald Machell	A Study	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W.	GG
31	118	West	Mademoiselle Anna Bilinska	Le Deuil	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue Fleurus, Paris	
31	119	West	W. Brown Macdougall	Moonrise - Stirling	1868-1936	M	British	136 Wellington Street, Glasgow	NEAC
31	120	West	Hubert Vos	Bretonne - Morbihan	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studios, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
31	121	West	R. Wane	The Harvest Moon	1852-1904	M	British	Min y don, East Dulwich Road, Dulwich	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
31	122	West	Ellis Roberts	Mrs Robert Holford	1860-1930	M	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	GG
32	123	West	James E. Grace	The September Moon	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Surrey	SBA, GG
32	124	West	A. E. Emslie	Viola	1848-1918	M	British	17 North Audley Street, W.	RWS, GG
32	125	West	Mrs W. E. Hine	An August Moon	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Eversham Road, Reigate	
32	126	West	Arthur Melville	Two Girls in a Boat	1855-1904	M	British	2 Stratford Avenue, Kensington	RWS, GG
32	127	West	Ernest Sichel	A Study in the Looking-Glass	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
33	128	West	Fred Brown	Wallflowers	1851-1941	M	British	9 Victoria Grove, Fulham Road, S.W.	GG
33	129	West	P. Wilson Steer	The Sprigged Frock	1860-1942	M	British	Maclise Mansion, Addison Road, W.	GG
33	130	West	Miss Bertha Newcombe	A Young Mother	1857-1947	F	British	1 Cheyne Walk, S.W.	NEAC
33	131	West	Edouard Rischgitz	The Weather Prophet (It will snow hard to-night)	1828-1909	M	Swiss	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens	
33	132	West	Henry S. Tuke	Leander	1858-1929	M	British	Swanpool, Falmouth	NEAC, SBA, GG
34	133	West	Miss Ada Holland	Butterfly Cups	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studio, Manresa Road, S.W.	
34	134	West	P. Wilson Steer	Portrait of Miss Morton and her dog 'Gip'	1860-1942	M	British	Maclise Mansion, Addison Road, W.	GG
34	135	West	Leslie Cauldwell	Study of a Head	1861-1941	M	American	12 Rue Boissonade, Paris	
34	136	West	Ernest Sichel	A Sketch in the Library	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
34	137	West	Miss M. Harvey	"A Tale of Woe"	fl.1886-1939	F	British	Gowanbrae, Stirling, N.B	
35	138	West	Hubert Vos	Entering Church	1855-1935	M	Dutch	Grosvenor Studios, Vauxhall Bridge Road, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
35	139	West	A. D. Peppercorn	A Landscape	1847-1924	M	British	West Horsley, Leatherhead, Surrey	NEAC, GG
35	140	West	Reginald Machell	Magnolias	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W.	GG
35	141	West	Frank Kelsey	A Venetian Fête	1864-1932	M	British	42 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead	
35	142	West	Ellis Roberts	Mrs Albert Gray	1860-1930	M	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	GG
36	143	West	Henry Muhrman	View Through Trees	1854-1916	M	American	Ivy Cottage, Southend Road, Hampstead	GG
36	144	West	F. Markham Skipworth	"Rosetta"	1854-1929	M	British	2 Wentworth Studios, Chelsea, S.W.	GG
36	145	West	James E. Christie	Aldburgh Fair	1847-1914	M	British	181 King's Road, Chelsea	NEAC, GG
36	146	West	Harold Rathbone	Rev. Edmund Stanfield	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steel's Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	GG
36	147	West	William Stott of Oldham	"Prince or Beggar?"	1857-1900	M	British	Wychcombe Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
37	148	West	Solomon J. Solomon	A Study	1860-1927	M	British	28 Holland Park Road, W.	NEAC, GG
37	149	West	Miss Georgie McKay	A Sketch	fl.1890-1907	M	British	18 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
37	150	West	Arthur Severn	Sunset at Seascale	1842-1931	M	British	Brantswood, Coniston, Lancashire	GG
37	151	West	Miss Amy Withers	La Première Communion		F		18 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W	
37	152	West	J. Lockhead	Homewards	1866-1921	M	British	Craigmill,Stirling	
38	153	West	James P. Downie	Evening Glow	fl.1887-1946	M	British	113 West Regent Street, Glasgow	
38	154	West	Henry F. W. Ganz	Gagne un Sou	1864-1947	M	British	Clareville Grove Studios, South Kensington	GG
38	155	West	R. Wane	From the Sand - Isle of Man	1852-1904	M	British	Min y don, East Dulwich Road, Dulwich	GG
38	156	West	Arthur Hacker	Autumn Leaves	1858-1919	M	British	74 Fellows Road	NEAC, GG
38	157	West	Thomas Millie Dow	Springtime in Morocco	1848-1919	M	British	5 Linwood Terrace, Hill Head, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
39	158	West	Miss Christabel Cockerell	An Old Garden	1863-1951	F	British	9A Addison Terrace, Holland Park, W.	
39	159	West	Miss Jane Inglis	Poppies	fl.1881-1916	F	British	7 Barton Street, Baron's Court, N.	
39	160	West	Bernard Lucas	Fairlight Bay near Hastings	1853-1910	M	British	32 Gt. Ormond Street, W.C.	GG
39	161	West	Solomon J. Solomon	"The leaves of Memory seemed to Make a Mournful Rustling"	1860-1927	M	British	28 Holland Park Road, W.	NEAC
39	162	West	Mark Fisher	Stacking Hay	1841-1923	M	British	Longstock, Stockbridge	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
40	163	West	J. E. Blanche	Portrait of Madame B., in Grez	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Paris	SPF, NEAC
40	164	West	Margaret A. Sheffield	Nasturtiums	fl.1887-1896	F	British	9 Dartmouth Row, Blackheath, S.E	
41	165	East	Miss Bertha Newcombe	"Mabel"	1857-1947	F	British	1 Cheyne Walk, S.W.	NEAC
41	166	East	Jean-François Raffaëli	Paysan Buvant du Vin	1850-1924	M	French	19 Rue de la Bibliotheque, Asnières, Nr. Paris	
41	167	East	Miss Florence Small	Mother and Child	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	
41	168	East	Miss Ada Holland	Portrait Study in Black	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studio, Manresa Road, S.W.	
42	169	East	J. Aumonier	Evening Sketch	1832-1911	M	British	64 Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square	GG
42	170	East	S. Melton Fisher	"Innocence"	1859-1939	M	British	Arts Club, Hanover Square, W	
42	171	East	T. Reffitt Oldfield	Horning Ferry	fl.1890-1903	M	British	c/o Jas Newman, 24 Soho Square, W.C.	
42	172	East	James Guthrie	Firelight	1859-1930	M	British	7 Woodside Place, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
42	173	East	William T. Warrener	Les Harricots (sic)	1861-1934	M	British	The Moorlands, Bracebridge, Lincoln	
43	174	East	William Norris	Barley Harvest	b.1857	M	British	38 Kersley Street, Battersea Park	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
43	175	East	S. Melton Fisher	A Young Italian Girl	1859-1939	M	British	Arts Club, Hanover Square, W	
43	176	East	T. Reffitt Oldfield	The Silver Moon	fl.1890-1903	M	British	c/o Jas Newman, 24 Soho Square, W.C.	
43	177	East	Mrs Lilly Delissa Joseph	Reflections	1863-1940	F	British	112 Holland Road, Kensington, W.	
43	178	East	Fritz Althaus	A Sheltered Cove, East Devon	1863-1962	M	British	87 Iverson Road, West Hampstead	
44	179	East	Mary Haldane	Culver Cliffs - Isle of Wight	fl.1881-1892	F	British	Milford, Godalming	GG
44	180	East	Fernand Khnopff	Le Silence	1858-1921	M	Belgian	1 Rue St Bernard, Chaussée de Charleroy, Bruxelles	
44	181	East	P. Wilson Steer	Girl Sowing	1860-1942	M	British	Maclise Mansion, Addison Road, W.	GG
44	182	East	Jean-François Raffaëli	Les Dernières Journées du vieux	1850-1924	M	French	19 Rue de la Bibliotheque, Asnières, Nr. Paris	
44	183	East	Arthur Dodd	Full Cry	fl.1880-1891	M	British	27 King Street, St James's, S.W.	GG
45	184	East	Miss Colt	A Portrait		F			
45	185	East	Miss Anna Bilinska	Jeune Fille a la Fenêtre	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue Fleurus, Paris	
45	186	East	Miss E. M. Osborn	The Sea Gull	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W.	
45	187	East	St Clair Simmons	Mrs Van Dolop - Portrait and Sketch	fl.1880-1917	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
46	188	East	Miss K. McCausland	Orpheline	fl.1884-1909	F	British	48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill, W.	GG
46	189	East	F. M. Stark	Holy Street, Chagford	fl.1890-1897	F	British	Yelfords, Chagford	Mrs Flora Mary Stark
46	190	East	Miss Mary Helen Carlisle	Sweet Seventeen	1869-1925	F	American	27 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
46	191	East	Miss Emily Goodchild	San Remo Road, Bordighera	fl.1888-1897	F	British	23 Thurloe Road, Hampstead, N.W.	
46	192	East	Geo. Clausen	Across the Fields	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
46	193	East	Geo. Clausen	Sheepfold	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
47	194	East	Ellis Roberts	Gwendoline, Daughter of the Marchioness of Carmarthen	1860-1930	M	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	GG
47	195	East	G. S. Van Strydouck (sic)	Déjeuner	1861-1937	M	Belgian	Rue Vilain, Bruxelles	
47	196	East	Geo. Clausen	Evening in October	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
47	197	East	Geo. Clausen	A Cottage Garden	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
47	198	East	M. E. Kindon	Silvery Twilight	1849-1919	F	British	1 Trafalgar Studios, Chelsea	
48	199	East	Otto Scholderer	Mademoiselle Archevêque	1834-1902	M	German	6 Bedford Gardens, W.	GG
48	200	East	R. Wane	Evening	1852-1904	M	British	Min y don, East Dulwich Road, Dulwich	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
48	201	East	Miss Gertrude May	Chrysanthemums	fl.1887-1896	F	British	15 Leonard Place, W.	GG
48	202	East	Geo. Clausen	Spring Morning	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
48	203	East	Paul Maitland	Night in the Suburbs	1863-1909	M	British	2 Holywood Road, S.W.	NEAC
49	204	East	Alfred Poncy	The Day of Rest	fl.1880-1890	M	French	59 Sistora Road, Balham	
49	205	East	M. Le Cannes	Study of a Head		M			
49	206	East	Miss Florence White	Mrs Stobell	fl.1881-1932	F	British	31 Rosetti Gardens Mansions, Chelsea, S.W.	GG
49	207	East	C. H. Shannon	Marigolds	1863-1937	M	British	The Vale, King's Road, S.W	GG
49	208	East	Ernest Sichel	Mrs Victor Sichel	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
50	209	East	Geo. Clausen	Falling Leaves	1852-1944	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	NEAC, RWS, GG
50	210	East	Henry S. Tuke	A Study	1858-1929	M	British	Swanpool, Falmouth	NEAC, SBA, GG
50	211	East	Jan Toorop	Girls sitting under the shadow of a boat (late afternoon)	1858-1928	M	Dutch	Katwijk aan Zee, Holland	
50	212	East	Miss Maud Coleridge	A Portrait	fl.1888-1903	F	British	Thurloe Studios, Thurloe Square, S.W.	
50	213	East	Ernest B. Fox	A Calm	fl.1883-1919	M	British	Fordington House, Strood, Kent	NEAC, GG
51	214	East	J. E. Blanche	Mdlle Burlet - Comédie Française	1861-1942	M	French	19 Rue des Fontis, Paris	SPF, NEAC
51	215	East	J. M. Swan	Study	1846-1910	M	British		GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
51	216	East	J. M. Swan	Study	1846-1910	M	British		GG
51	217	East	J. M. Swan	Study	1846-1910	M	British		GG
51	218	East	J. M. Swan	Study	1846-1910	M	British		GG
51	219	East	Reginald Machell	Study of Figure from "A Birth of a Planet"	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W.	GG
51	220	East	McLure Hamilton	After the Storm	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
52	221	East	Ellis Roberts	Lady Alice Shaw Stewart	1860-1930	M	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	GG
52	222	East	Andrew Lloyd	A Sketch of the Kennet Stream	fl.1881-1890	M	British	The Studio, Marlborough, Wiltshire	
52	223	East	Mrs Louise Jopling	Mabel	1843-1933	F	British	Clareville Grove Studios, South Kensington	GG
52	224	East	Champion Jones	Sunset on the Thames	1856-1912	M	British	77 St George's Avenue, Tufnell Park	GG
52	225	East	Mrs Isabel de Steiger	Phœdra - "The dark pale Queen with passion in her eyes"	1836-1927	F	British	58 Blomfield Road, Madia Hill, W	
53	226	East	Henry Muhrman	Mount, Hampstead	1854-1916	M	American	Ivy Cottage, Southend Road, Hampstead	GG
53	227	East	St George Hare	Captive	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road	GG
53	228	East	Miss Lancaster Lucas	A Portrait	fl.1888-1910	F	British	27 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	GG
53	229	East	Henry Fanner	Dainty Dorothy	fl.1880-1890	M	British	104 Earl's Court Road, S.W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
53	230	East	Andrew Lloyd	Preshuie Water Meadows	fl.1881-1890	M	British	The Studio, Marlborough, Wiltshire	
54	231	East	Miss Ada Holland	Portrait Sketch of Miss Vere Fenton	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studio, Manresa Road, S.W.	
54	232	East	Edward Rischgitz	Broad Walk, Kennington Gardens	1828-1909	M	Swiss	Cambridge Lodge Studios, Linden Gardens	
54	233	East	Frank Kelsey	Sea and Sand	1864-1932	M	British	42 Broadhurst Gardens, South Hampstead	
54	234	East	John Pedder	Showery Weather, Thames Valley	1850-1929	M	British	Cookham Dean, Berkshire	GG
54	235	East	F. W. Elwell	Portrait of George Monkman, Mace-bearer to the Mayor of Beverley	1870-1958	M	British	North Bar, Beverley	
55	236	East	W. Herbert Roe	A Sunlit Meadow	fl.1882-1909	M	British	109 Shepherd's Bush Road, W.	
55	237	East	Mary Vernon Morgan	Summer Flowers	fl.1880-1927	F	British	Radnor House, Handsworth, Birmingham	
55	238	East	Miss Helen Donald Smith	Autumn Mists	fl.1880-1890	F	British	1 Eldon Road, S.W.	GG
55	239	East	Madme A. A. Bennett Nathan Vonner	A Study	fl.1890-1892	F	British	c/o Messrs. King, 24 Titchfield Street, W.	
55	240	East	Miss K. McCausland	Portrait of Mrs R. V-	fl.1884-1909	F	British	48 Clarendon Road, Notting Hill, W.	GG
56	241	East	James Macbeth	The Valley of the Wey	1847-1891	M	British	Churt, Surrey	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
56	242	East	Ellis Roberts	Albert Holford, Esq.	1860-1930	M	British	6 William Street, Lowndes Square, S.W.	GG
56	243	East	R. Wane	A Manx Village	1852-1904	M	British	Min y don, East Dulwich Road, Dulwich	GG
56	244	East	Herbert Schmalz	Granville, Son of Charles Hancock	1856-1935	M	British	Studios, Holland Park Road, S.W.	
56	245	East	Shadwell Smith	The Local News		M		Rye, Sussex	
57	246	East	James Macbeth	What is it?	1847-1891	M	British	Churt, Surrey	
57	247	East	Miss E. M. Osborn	Santa Maria Della Salute, Venice	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W.	
57	248	East	Robert Anning Bell	Fantasy	1863-1933	M	British	98A Warner Road, Camberwell Green	NEAC
57	249	East	Ernest R. Fox	The Dean's Garden	fl.1883-1919	M	British	Fordington House, Strood, Kent	NEAC, GG
57	250	East	Mrs Louise Jopling	Portrait of the Artist	1843-1933	F	British	Clareville Grove Studios, South Kensington	GG
58	251	East	Thomas Millie Dow	Moonlight, Tangiers	1848-1919	M	British	5 Linwood Terrace, Hill Head, Glasgow	NEAC, GG
58	252	East	James E. Grace	Early Autumn	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Surrey	SBA, GG
58	253	East	Miss Jane Inglis	Amongst Bluebells	fl.1881-1916	F	British	7 Barton Street, Baron's Court, N.	
58	254	East	Miss Nelly Erichsen	Joseph Lucas Esq.	1862-1918	F	British	Grove Cottage, Upper Tooting	
58	255	East	Charles Vigor	Gentle Sleep	1860-1930	M	British	15 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
59	256	East	St Clair Simmons	Ethel, Daughter of H. G. Piggott, Esq.	fl.1880-1917	M	British	57 Bedford Gardens, W.	
59	257	East	Mrs W. E. Hine	The Spirit of Solitude	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Eversham Road, Reigate	
59	258	East	James E. Grace	Autumn Evening	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Surrey	SBA, GG
59	259	East	Mrs Mariquita J. Moberley	Pictures from Ruskin's Garden	1855-1927	F	British	24 Abercorn Place, N.W.	
59	260	East	J. Nelson Drummond	"Now fades the glimmering landscape on the night, And all the air a solemn stillness holds." - Gray	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Great Russell Street, W.C.	
60	261	East	Rudolph Lehmann	Miss Liza Lehmann	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place	GG
60	262	East	Theodore Wores	A Buddhist Graveyard	1859-1939	M	American	296 King's Road, Chelsea	GG
60	263	East	Miss Ethel S. King	Daughter of the Honorable Mrs Alfred Talbot	fl.1885-1925	F	British	1 St Mark's Buildings, Balderton Street, W.	
60	264	East	George Thomson	On the River	1860-1939	M	British	Clayton House, Strand-on-the-Green, Gunnersbury	
60	265	East	Miss E. G. Cohen	An Exile from Poland	fl.1884-1905	F	British	22 Hamilton Terrace, N.W.	
61	266	East	Charles Macdonald Clarke	Wayside Sketch, Bournemouth		M		Knole View, Boscombe, Bournemouth	
61	267	East	Miss Ada Holland	Portrait Studies by Twilight in a Garden	fl.1887-1914	F	British	1 Garden Studio, Manresa Road, S.W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
61	268	East	Miss Winifred Hope Thomson	Maurice	1864-1944	F	British	57 Onslow Square, S.W.	
61	269	East	Leslie Cauldwell	Cloud and Sea	1861-1941	M	American	12 Rue Boissonade, Paris	
61	270	East	Edward Tayler	Suspense	1828-1906	M	British	37 Gloucester Place, S.W.	GG
62	271	East	McLure Hamilton	Studies of the Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, M. P.	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
62	272	East	St George Hare	Playmates	1857-1933	M	British	Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road	GG
62	273	East	J. Nelson Drummond	Fast Falls the Evening Tide	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Great Russell Street, W.C.	
62	274	East	F. Hamilton Jackson	In Shoreman Harbour	1848-1923	M	British	35 Woodstock Road, Belford Park, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
62	275	East	Mrs Mary Waller	Mrs Alfred Scott Gatty	fl.1881-1929	F	British	58 Circus Road, N.W.	GG
63	276	East	Edwin Hayes	Beach, Brighton	1819-1904	M	British	Briscoe House, Steel's Road, N.W.	GG
63	277	East	F. Farrington	An Impression		M		10 Kingsley House, Avonmore Road, Kensington, W.	
63	278	East	Mrs W. E. Hine	Evening of the Common	fl.1887-1895	F	British	Eversham Road, Reigate	
63	279	East	Charles H. Shannon	A Portrait	1863-1937	M	British	The Vale, King's Road, S.W	GG
63	280	East	Miss K. C. Caswell	Our Garden in July		F		Mortimer, Berkshire	
64	281	Third Room	Henry J. Hudson	Sabrina	fl.1881-1910	M	British	Alexandra Studios, Alfred Place, S.W.	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
64	282	Third Room	William Thomson	Portrait	fl.1880-1894	M	British	Sidmouth Lodge, The Boltons, S.W.	
64	283	Third Room	Alfred Hitchens	Sunset, Holland	1860-1942	M	British	35 Kensington Square, W.	GG
64	284	Third Room	Fred W. Elwell	Study of a Girl	1870-1958	M	British	North Bar, Beverley	
65	285	Third Room	Miss Florence Small	My Lady's Garden	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	
65	286	Third Room	Charles M. Newton	Mrs Rudston Read	fl.1885-1899	M	British	7 Trafalgar Studios, Chelsea	
65	287	Third Room	Graham Petrie	Corn Ricks	1859-1940	M	British	Hogarth Club, Dover Street, W.	GG
65	288	Third Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Camden Crescent, Bath	1853-1943	M	British	The Grey House, Hornton Street, S.W.	GG
65	289	Third Room	Mrs Agnes Schenk	A Shepherd Boy	fl.1880-1890	F	British	Stanfield House, Hampstead, N.W.	
66	290	Third Room	Miss Bertha Newcombe	A Flock of Turkeys	1857-1947	F	British	1 Cheyne Walk, S.W.	NEAC
66	291	Third Room	Harold Rathbone	Portrait of Philippa Garrett Fawcett	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steel's Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	GG
66	292	Third Room	S. W. Poynter	"When on Coolins…shiver'd, Crest the lights decay."		M		Great Wakering, Southend, Essex	
66	293	Third Room	Ernest Sichel	A Rain Cloud	1862-1941	M	British	2 Claremont, Bradford	
66	294	Third Room	Miss Ethel Wright	In my Canoe	1866-1939	F	British	Woodbridge House, Elm Tree Road, N.W.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
67	295	Third Room	G. S. Van Strydouck (sic)	Portrait of Madame V	1861-1937	M	Belgian	Rue Vilain, Bruxelles	
67	296	Third Room	Henry Ryland	Interlude	1856-1924	M	British	7 Bolton Studios Redcliffe Road	
67	297	Third Room	Miss Mary Helen Carlisle	Amy	1869-1925	F	American	27 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
67	298	Third Room	James P. Downie	In the Orchard	fl.1887-1946	M	British	113 West Regent Street, Glasgow	
67	299	Third Room	McLure Hamilton	Mrs Gladstone	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
68	300	Third Room	Miss Maud Coleridge	Miss Ives	fl.1888-1903	F	British	Thurloe Studios, Thurloe Square, S.W.	
68	301	Third Room	Miss Methven	My Lady's Favorite		F		2A Limerston Street, S.W.	
68	302	Third Room	Eric Forbes Robertson	A Child of Finisterre	1865-1935	M	British	22 Bedford Square, W.C.	GG
68	303	Third Room	Reginald Machell	A Sleeping Girl	1854-1927	M	British	99 New Bond Street, W.	GG
68	304	Third Room	Mdlle. Anna Bilinska	Jeune Femme vue Dos	1857-1893	F	Polish	27 Rue Fleurus, Paris	
69	305	Third Room	W. Colebrooke Stockdale	"Alla Guerra, Italia" - Garibaldi's departure for Sicily		M		Melrose, Central Hill, Upper Norwood	
69	306	Third Room	Miss Florence Levien	Study		F		Victoria House, Teddington	
69	307	Third Room	J. Nelson Drummond	The Grey Dawn from Leith Hill, Surrey	fl.1882-1896	M	British	36 Great Russell Street, W.C.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
69	308	Third Room	Edward Tofano	Winter, Twilight	1838-1920	M	Italian	2 Park Road, Knightsbridge	
70	309	Fourth Room	Miss E. M. Osborn	Faithful Friends	1828-1925	F	British	10A Cunningham Place, N.W.	
70	310	Fourth Room	Miss Ethel Wright	Portrait of Mrs Braunstein	1866-1939	F	British	Woodbridge House, Elm Tree Road, N.W.	
70	311	Fourth Room	Helen H. Halton	Teatime		F		1 Lennard Place, N.W.	
70	312	Fourth Room	W. Colebrooke Stockdale	The Ruins of the Palace of Tiberius Capri		M		Melrose, Central Hill, Upper Norwood	
71	313	Fourth Room	Charles Wilkinson	The Brimming River	fl.1881-1925	M	British	18 Fitzroy Street, W.	GG
71	314	Fourth Room	Miss M. J. Davis	A Dream	fl.1881-1920	F	British	5 Lauderdale Road, Maida Vale	
71	315	Fourth Room	Mrs Arthur Raphael	Mrs C. E. Mendl	fl.1889-1917	F	British	8 Upper Hamilton Terrace	Mary F. Raphael
71	316	Fourth Room	Harold Rathbone	Miss Blanche Harrington	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steel's Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	GG
71	317	Fourth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Mrs Ashworth Hallett	1853-1943	M	British	The Grey House, Hornton Street, S.W.	GG
72	318	Fourth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	Bath, The Queen of the West	1853-1943	M	British	The Grey House, Hornton Street, S.W.	GG
72	319	Fourth Room	Edward Tayler	Study of a Head	1828-1906	M	British	37 Gloucester Place, S.W.	GG
72	320	Fourth Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Marianna	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place	GG

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
72	321	Fourth Room	J. Ernest Breun	Miss C. Stone	1862-1921	M	British	4 Greek Street, Soho	
72	322	Fourth Room	Miss Theodora Harrison	Sketched from the Looking-Glass	fl.1890-1893	F	British	13 Edward Square, S.W.	
73	323	Fourth Room	G. C. Galsworthy	Sunset	fl.1890-1917	M	British	33 Gloucester Gardens, Hyde Park, W.	
73	324	Fourth Room	Jean-François Raffaëli	Le Paysan Napolitain et Son Âne	1850-1924	M	French	19 Rue de la Bibliotheque, Asnières, Nr. Paris	
73	325	Fourth Room	Harold Rathbone	Master Joseph Allen	1858-1929	M	British	3 Steel's Studios, Haverstock Hill, N.W.	GG
73	326	Fourth Room	H. A. Finberg	Mr John Gray		M		6 New Court, Carey Street, W.C.	
73	327	Fourth Room	F. Cayley Robinson	"Thus sang the Uncouth Swain"	1862-1927	M	British	6 Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, S.W.	SBA
74	328	Fourth Room	H. E. J. Browne	Portrait	1890-1917	M	British	Hethersett, Norwich	
74	329	Fourth Room	M. G. Crow	Ella	fl.1890-1897	F	British	c/o Major Trotter, 30 Wynnstay Gardens, W.	
74	330	Fourth Room	Miss Maud Seddon	A Study	fl.1890-1899	F	British	23 Grosvenor Road, S.W.	
74	331	Fourth Room	J. Coutts Michie	Spring Evening	1859-1919	M	British	East Linton, Preston Kirk, Haddingtonshire	GG
74	332	Fourth Room	Miss Florence Small	Mon Amie	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
75	333	Fourth Room	Mrs Virginia L. Finney	Study of a Head	fl.1887-1896	F	British	32 Campden Grove, Kensington, W.	
75	334	Fourth Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Mrs Ward	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place	GG
75	335	Fourth Room	Rudolf Lehmann	Lady Campbell	1819-1905	M	German	28 Abercorn Place	GG
75	336	Fourth Room	G. C. Kerr	The Medway from Rockwater Bridge	fl.1880-1907	M	British	Gillingham House, Gillingham, Kent	
75	337	Fourth Room	Henry Fanner	Kitten, Child of Sir Frederick and Lady Fitzwygram	fl.1880-1890	M	British	104 Earl's Court Road, S.W.	
76	338	Fourth Room	J. Ernest Breun	Miss B. Kent	1862-1921	M	British	4 Greek Street, Soho	
76	339	Fourth Room	Miss Florence Small	Portrait Study in Black	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	
76	340	Fourth Room	R. Wane	Sunset	1852-1904	M	British	Min y don, East Dulwich Road, Dulwich	GG
76	341	Fourth Room	R. Ponsonby Staples	The Market, Penny	1853-1943	M	British	The Grey House, Hornton Street, S.W.	GG
76	342	Fourth Room	T. B. Kennington	A Rose	1856-1916	M	British	8 Victoria Grove, S.W.	NEAC, SBA, GG
77	343	Fourth Room	Leon Sprinck	Hilda - A Girl	1862-1948	M	German		
77	344	Fourth Room	Leon Sprinck	Colonel Henry Pelham Close	1862-1948	M	German		
77	345	Fourth Room	Miss Amy Scott	Portrait of Mrs E. Butler	1862-1950	F	British	1 Silwood Terrace, Brighton	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
77	346	Fourth Room	Henry Fanner	Miss Ashworth of Ollerton	fl.1880-1890	M	British	104 Earl's Court Road, S.W.	
78	347	Fifth Room	Theophile de Bock	In the Country	1851-1904	M	Dutch		
78	348	Fifth Room	Theophile de Bock	Old Trees	1851-1904	M	Dutch		
78	349	Fifth Room	Miss Anna Griffin	Study of a Head	fl.1888-1894	F	British	17 Bolton Studios, Redcliffe Road, S.W.	
78	350	Fifth Room	Miss Helen Donald Smith	"The Long, Unlovely Street"	fl.1880-1890	F	British	1 Eldon Road, S.W.	GG
78	351	Fifth Room	W. H. Y. Titcomb	Grez Bridge	1858-1930	M	British	Ockham House, Culverden Road, Balham, S.W.	SBA
79	352	Fifth Room	A. J. Finberg	Diana	fl.1888-1921	M	British	6 New Court, Carey Street, W.C.	
79	353	Fifth Room	W. Neujam P. Nicholson	Causand Bay		M		Grove Road, Bushey	
79	354	Fifth Room	James B. Pryde	Little Girl in Black	1866-1941	M	British	Weldon House, Centre Park, Upper Norwood	
79	355	Fifth Room	Robert Anning Bell	Portrait of F- G-	1863-1933	M	British	98A Warner Road, Camberwell Green	NEAC
79	356	Fifth Room	W. Brown Macdougall	Landscape	1868-1936	M	British	136 Wellington Street, Glasgow	NEAC
79	357	Fifth Room	Theophile de Bock	To the Farm	1851-1904	M	Dutch		
80	358	Fifth Room	W. Brown Macdougall	On the Sands	1868-1936	M	British	136 Wellington Street, Glasgow	NEAC

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
80	359	Fifth Room	W. Brown Macdougall	On the Shore	1868-1936	M	British	136 Wellington Street, Glasgow	NEAC
80	360	Fifth Room	W. H. Margetson	The Mermaid	1861-1940	M	British	1 Lennard Place, N.W.	GG
80	361	Fifth Room	Madame Isabel de Steiger	The Jewel	1836-1927	F	British	58 Blomfield Road, Maida Hill, W	
80	362	Fifth Room	W. Brown Macdougall	The Sand Dunes	1868-1936	M	British	136 Wellington Street, Glasgow	NEAC
81	363	Fifth Room	A. Ludovici, Jnr	A Grey Note	1852-1932	M	British	105 Charlotte Street, W.	SBA, GG
81	364	Fifth Room	Theophile de Bock	In the Dunes	1851-1904	M	Dutch		
81	365	Fifth Room	McLure Hamilton	A Four Year Old	1853-1936	M	American	14 Alpha Road, N.W.	NEAC, GG
81	366	Fifth Room	Graham Petrie	Isola di Burano, Venice	1859-1940	M	British	Hogarth Club, Dover Street, W.	GG
81	367	Fifth Room	James E. Grace	A Note at Sunset	1851-1908	M	British	Milford, Surrey	SBA, GG
82	368	Fifth Room	Miss Helen Donald Smith	Under a Fresh Tree Shade	fl.1880-1890	F	British	1 Eldon Road, S.W.	GG
82	369	Fifth Room	Miss Florence Small	Midge, A Portrait	1860-1933	F	British	Cavendish Crescent North, The Park, Nottingham	
82	370	Fifth Room	William Thomson	Dreamy Springtime	fl.1880-1894	M	British	Sidmouth Lodge, The Boltons, S.W.	
82	371	Fifth Room	Miss Emmeline Deane	Miss A. Deane	1858-1944	F	British	30 Great Russell Street, W.C.	

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Pg. no.	Cat. No.	Gallery	Artist	Title	Dates	M / F	Nationality	Address	Notes
82	372	Fifth Room	Theophile de Bock	Thunderstorm	1851-1904	M	Dutch		
82	373	Fifth Room	Theophile de Bock	In the Forrest	1851-1904	M	Dutch		

Appendix D Explanatory Note

Appendix D are my findings for known pastel works by my four chosen artists. The data for this appendix has been collated from a number of different sources.

Elizabeth Armstrong

Cook, J. and Hardie, M., *Singing from the Walls: The Life and Art of Elizabeth Forbes*, (Bristol: Sansom & Company, 2000)

Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition Catalogues, 1888-1890, National Art Library, London

NEAC Exhibition Catalogues, Tate Archive, London, acc.no. TGA20067/5/2.

SBA Exhibition Catalogues, 1882-6, book 7, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/4/ and 1886-9, book 8, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/42, V&A Archive, Blythe House, London

Newlyn Archive

Past auction sales: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/results.action

George Clausen

McConkey, K., *George Clausen and the Picture of English Rural Life*, (London: Atelier Books, 2012)

McConkey, K., *George Clausen: The Rustic Image*, [exh.cat.], (London: The Fine Art Society, 2012)

McConkey, K., *Sir George Clausen, R. A. 1852-1944*, [exh.cat], (Bradford Art Galleries and Tyne and Wear County Council Museums, 1980)

Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition Catalogues, 1888-1890, National Art Library, London

Past auction sales: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/results.action

N.B. – There are 1000+ pastel sketches contained in the RA archive. I have only included a small sample.

James Guthrie

Caw, J., *Sir James Guthrie, P.R.S.A, LL.D*, (London: Macmillan, 1932)

Billcliffe, R. *The Glasgow Boys*, (London: Frances Lincoln, Ltd, 2008)

Billcliffe, R., *The Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts 1861-1989*, vols.1-4, (Glasgow: Woodend Press, 1992)

Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition Catalogues, 1888-1890, National Art Library, London

NEAC Exhibition Catalogues, Tate Archive, London, acc.no. TGA20067/5/2.

Past auction sales: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/results.action

William Stott

Brown, R. *William Stott of Oldham 1857-1900*, (London: Paul Holberton, 2003)

William Stott notebook, MS, 1896

Three annotated catalogues for Stott's memorial exhibitions 1901-1902

Grosvenor Gallery Exhibition Catalogues, 1888-1890, National Art Library, London

SBA Exhibition Catalogues, 1882-6, book 7, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/4/ and 1886-9, book 8, acc.no. AAD/1997/8/42, V&A Archive, Blythe House, London

Past auction sales: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/results.action

Please note – changes in titling have been recorded.
All data accurate on date of submission. More works may arise or information may change in due course.

Appendix D

Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	Ardent Prayer	Unknown	Unknown		Sold at Christie's, Kensington 13 Dec 1982, Lot 23. Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.177; Private Collection
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	Boy with ball	Unknown	Unknown		Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.178; Private Collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Carlo	Pastel study of the artist's pet St Bernard dog's head	Unknown		Sold at Philips London, 2 March 1999, Lot 1; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.178; Sold at Bonhams, London, 2007, Lot 110; Private Collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Charity	Watercolour and pastel drawing of a mother and child in medieval clothing	Unknown		Rpr. In colour, Brich, 1906, p.86; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	Cuckoo	pastel and bodycolour; image of a young girl wearing a hat and cloak, holding a book, between two trees, [fig.76]	1887	SBA, cat.no.256, 1887; 'Model children & Other People', Leicester Galleries, Nov 1904; 'British Impressions' David Messum Gallery, London, 1994	Rpr. In Women Painters of the World, (see fig.), Sold at Christie's London, 12 June 1986, Lot. 101; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.179; Private Collection
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	Girl with red cape and blonde hair	half-length portrait	Unknown		Sold W. H. Lane Penzance, 19 Feb 1987, Lot. 447; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.182; Private Collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	The Grey Muff	Pastel and watercolour portrait of a woman	c1903-4	'Model children & Other People', Leicester Galleries, Nov 1904	Described in Birch, 1906; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.182; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	The Harvest Flask	Oval pastel study of the figure in a painting entitled *Slaking their Thirst,* a boy and a girl sharing a flask of water	Unknown		Sold at Philips, East Anglia, 8 Dec 1994, Lot 488; Christie's, London, 23 Mar 1995 Lot 19; W. H. Lane, Penzance, 11 July 1995, Lot 175; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.182, Private Collection
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	Hatching Mischeif		1887	SBA, cat.no. 251, 1887	Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.182; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Hide and Seek (II)	Pastel on paper of a young woman in a pink dress, playing a game in a field, [fig.47]	Unknown		Sold at Christie's, London, 1 July 1993, Lot 44; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.183; private collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Iris		Unknown	Whitechapel, 1902, no.148	Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.184; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	The Kiss	Pastel of a mother kissing a child	Unknown		Rpr b/w Birch, 1906, p.78; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.184; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Sisters (Two Girls By a Pond)	Pastel of two girls standing side by side in field near a lake	Unknown	Newlyn Orion Benefit, 1981, no.57	Was purchased at the NOB; recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.188; private

Appendix D

Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Three Blind Mice	Pastel of girls giving a piano recital in green lamp light	1889	NEAC, 1889, cat.no.6	Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.189; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Wild Hyacinths	pastel of a lady in mediaeval head gear, holding a bouquet of hyacinths	Unknown		Rpr b/w, Birch, 1906, p.66; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.190; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Woman and Girl Beneath a Tree	pastel on paper	Unknown		Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.190; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	The Red Sunshade	pastel of a woman with a red/orange sunshade	Unknown	Newlyn Orion Benefit, 1981	Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.190; private collection, Cornwall
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Spring Blossom	Coloured chalk and body colour	Unknown		Sold, Sotheby's, Belgravia, 14 June 1977, Lot 26; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.188; private collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	La Seine près de Caumont	coloured chalks and paper laid down on board	Unknown		Sold at Sotheby's, Billingshurst, 16 Jan 1990, Lot 177; Sold Christie's, New York, 25 May 1994, Lot 345; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.184; private collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Pied Piper of Hamelin	pastel of young boy leading a group of children	c1900		Sold, W. H.Lane, Penzance, Lot 250; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.186; private

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Portrait of a little girl	half-length pastel portrait of a girl	Unknown		Sold, Sotheby's, London, 14 Oct, 1987, Lot 78; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.187; private collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Portrait of Mrs Percy Sharman	watercolour and pastel drawing of a woman in in a white smock with an ornate necklace	Unknown		Rpr b/w Birch, 1906, p.64; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.187; private collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Oranges and Lemons	pastel of children playing traditional game with arms raised above their heads, [fig.38]	1889		Belgrave Gallery; Rpr in Degas, Sickert, Toulouse-Lautrec, 2005, Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.186; private collection
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	"Colinette était son nom, Elle habitait un Village"		c.1888	Grosvenor Gallery 1888, cat.no.34	current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	One, Two, Three and away we go	pastel of children racing each other in a bright sunlit field	c.1890	Grosvenor Gallery 1888, cat.no.43; won a medal at the Paris International Exhibition 1889	Described in Birch, 1906; recorded in Singing from the Walls; current whereabouts unknown
Elizabeth A. Armstrong	"The Maids were in the Garden hanging out the clothes"	Pastel on paper of women and children hanging up laundry, [fig.73]	c.1888	Grosvenor Gallery 1888, cat.no.59; 'The Victorian Era Exhibition' Women's Section	Sold Bearnes, Exeter, 4 Sept 1991 (provenance the family of the present owner since 1897); Recorded in Singing from the Walls, 2000, p.185; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Hide and Seek	Pastel, paper on linen. Children in a field with Paul Church in the background, [fig.37]	1889	Grosvenor Gallery 1889, cat.no.127	Sold at Philips, London, 14 Nov 1989, Lot 20; Recorded in Singing from the Walls, p.183; private collection
Elizabeth Stanhope-Forbes	Poor Ned	pastel of a man, possibly Stanhope Forbes (her nickname for him was Ned)	c.1889	Grosvenor Gallery 1889, cat.no.160	current whereabouts unknown
Mrs E. Stanhope Forbes	"Open the Gates as High as the Sky, To let the King and Queen pass by."		c.1890	Grosvenor Gallery 1890, cat.no.40	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Feeding the Sheep	pastel on paper, 24.8 x 37.1 cm; image of shepherd and dogs rounding up the sheep, [fig.9]	1884	Bradford, 1980, cat.no.3	Recorded in McConkey, 1980, p.40; Whitworth Gallery, Manchester
George Clausen	The Harrow			Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.39	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	A Study			Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.48	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Child's Portrait	pastel on paper; image of a boy with blue eyes and blonde hair, [fig.64]	1888	Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.178	Private Collection
George Clausen	Girl's Head	pastel on paper; image of a red haired girl in profile, [fig.52]	1888	Grosvenor Gallery 1888, cat.no.210	Sold at Christie's, 2010, Lot 110; Recorded in FAS, 2012, p.30; Private Collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Little Rose	Pastel on paper 51.1 x 35.6 cm, signed, full-length image a young girl with red hair, [fig.53]	1889	Grosvenor Gallery 1889, cat.no.134; FAS, 2012, cat.10	Recorded in FAS, 2012, p.26; Private Collection
George Clausen	Across the fields			Grosvenor Gallery, 1890, cat.no.192	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Sheepfold	pastel on paper 38 x 61 cm, signed, image of two young shepherds feeding their herd, [fig.41]	1890	Grosvenor Gallery, 1890, cat.no.193; Bradford, 1980 cat.no.68; FAS, 2012, cat.no. 14	Recorded in McConkey, 1980, p.60; FAS, 2012, p.32; private collection
George Clausen	Evening in October			Grosvenor Gallery 1890, cat.no. 196	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Cottage Garden			Grosvenor Gallery, 1890, cat.no.197	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Spring Morning			Grosvenor Gallery, 1890; cat.no.202	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Falling Leaves			Grosvenor Gallery 1890, cat.no.209	current whereabouts unknown
George Clausen	Haystacks	pastel on paper, 19 x 25 cm, image of 5 large haystacks	1889	Bradford, 1980, cat.no.58	Recorded in McConkey, 1980, p.51; British Museum
George Clausen	Sheep in a Hurdled Enclosure	pastel on paper, 26 x 34.5 cm, image of sheep inside a fenced enclosure	1889	Bradford, 1980, cat.no.69	Recorded in McConkey, 1980, p.60; British Museum
George Clausen	The Mill at Dusk	pastel on paper, [fig.30]	c1895		Manchester Art Gallery
George Clausen	A Cornfield	pastel on paper, 22.5 x 35.5 cm, image of a cornfield	1892	Bradford, 1980, cat.no.77	Recorded in McConkey, 1980, p.66; British Museum
George Clausen	Study of a child	pastel on paper, 29 x 25.1	1890		British Museum

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Study of a carthorse	pastel on paper, 28.9 x 40.2 cm			British Museum
George Clausen	Landscape Study	pastel on paper, 26.9 x 38.6 cm			British Museum
George Clausen	Farmhouse	pastel on paper, 24.1 x 18.2 cm; image of a cottage and red brick building	1892		British Museum
George Clausen	Study for 'Evening Song'	pastel on paper, 24.1 x 34.3 cm; image of a girl lying on her side	c1893		British Museum
George Clausen	In the Rickyard	pastel on paper, 21.5 x 24 cm; image of a man sorting hay into piles			Sold Sotheby's 2014, Lot 224; Private Collection
George Clausen	The Haymaker, A Study in Shadows	pastel on paper, 6.7 x 19.7 cm; image of a girl holding the top of a wooden handle			Sold Christie's 2013, Lot 97; Private Collection
George Clausen	Study of a young girl leaning against a tree	pastel on paper, 24.1 x 17.8 cm	1891		Sold Christie's 2013, Lot 69; Private Collection
George Clausen	Essex Skyscape	pastel on paper, 21.3 x 34.9 cm; land and skyscape	1892		Sold Christie's, 2011, Lot 6; Private Collection
George Clausen	Marshland, Essex	pastel on paper, 17.2 x 22.3 cm; land and skyscape	1892		Sold Christie's, 2011, Lot 5; Private Collection
George Clausen	Hayrick in Sunlight	pastel on paper, 16.5 x 13.2 cm; hayrick in bright light	1901		Sold Bonham's, 2010; Lot 20; Private Collection
George Clausen	Pool and Trees	pastel on paper, 22.8 x 20.3 cm			Sold Duke's, Dorchester, 2007, Lot 140; Private Collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Sunset	pastel on paper 15.2 x 22.8 cm			Sold Sotheby's 2006, Lot 139; Christie's, 2007, Lot 113; Private Collection
George Clausen	Cock and Grazing Horse in an Orchard		1890		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Portrait Study of Henry Hatch		1890		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Sky Study				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Girl Carrying Faggots				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Head of a Young Girl Lying in Hay	[fig.51]	1892		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of an Old Man Planting				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of a Young Girl Lying Full-length in Hay		1892		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of a White Farmhouse		1892		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Head of a Man		1926		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of the Head and Right Arm of a		1899 (circa)		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Landscape		1901 (?)		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of a Kitchen Interior				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Across the Fields		1889		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Corn Stacks at Sunset		1892 (?)		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Labourer Scooping Grain into Sack III [Study for 'The Golden Barn']		1901 (circa)		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of a Boy Hoeing		1901 (circa)		Bristol Art Gallery

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Study of Young Girl Carrying Sack		1904-1908 (circa)		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Two Gleaners Carrying Bundles [Study for 'The Gleaners Returning']		1904-1908		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Head and Shoulders of a Woman Bending		1899 (circa)		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Radiant Sunset	[fig.28]			Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	House Between Trees				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Landscape Study I		1892		Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Farm Buildings at the Edge of a Mustard Field				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Study of Wood Anemones				Bristol Art Gallery
George Clausen	Landscape study	pastel and charcoal on paper; image of a yellow and green field with plants silhouetted			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sky Study		1891		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of Barn buildings	pastel on paper; image of three barn buildings			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of Haystacks	pastel, charcoal and white chalk on paper			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sunrise Sketch	pastel on paper			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sky Study	pastel on paper; image of grey and white clouds over water			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Hazy Landscape Study				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Rosehip and landscape study				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of Dark Barn Interior	[fig.83]	c1900		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Cloud study	chalk, charcoal and pastel			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sunset study				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sunset study (II)	pastel and charcoal on paper; image of sunset, [fig.29]			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sky study with three trees				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Sky study with three haystacks				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Haystack study inside fenced enclosure				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Rickyard study				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Landscape sudy	pastel; image of fields in different colours			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Landscape study with two children				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of Reapers				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Study of a cottage		1892		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Landscape study of field with wild flowers				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Landscape study haystack on the field				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of trees in winter		1891		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of cottages and barn				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Head study of a 'Girl Lying in the Hay'				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Landscape study of field of poppies				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of 'Girl Lying in the Hay'				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of the figure of 'Girl Lying in the Hay'				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Landscape and Sky study		1890		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of a cottage		1891		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Green field study		1892		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of a little boy	charcoal and pastel; image of a young boy with a cap and purple scarf			From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
George Clausen	Study of a Mower	[fig.39]	c1885		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of two trees in blossom				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of a vase of crocuses		1892		From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of Hedgerow				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Dawn study of a cottage				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of two trees				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of a red-haired girl under a tree				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Study of 'Widdington'				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
George Clausen	Six small sketches of head, torso and skirt of figure carrying sack on her head				From the pastel portfolio in the Royal Academy
James Guthrie	Portrait of a Girl	61 x 46 cm; image of a girl dressed in white, sitting in three-quarter profile, [fig.2]	1883		Sold at Lyon and Turnbull, Edinburgh, 2012, Lot 128; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Portrait of a Girl	37.5 x 36 cm; image of girl in a woodland scene, front on, wearing a black cloak, [fig.57]	1886		Owned by James Paterson thence by descendent to present owner; sold at Sotheby's, London, 2009, Lot 39; private collection
James Guthrie	Gathering Flowers	24.5 x 24.1cm	1888		T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	A River Bank	24.5 x 30.5cm; landscape image of a riverbank with man fishing to the left, [fig.88]	1888	GIFA 1889; Dundee, 1929	John Tattersall, Dundee; Recorded in Caw, p.233; Sold at Bonhams, Edinburgh, 2015; Lot 33; Private Collection
James Guthrie	Cambuskenneth Ferry, Evening	24.8 x 43.2cm; dusk or nocturne of a ferry crossing with house in view on the opposite shore	1888		Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Harvest Time	30.5 x 46.3cm	1888	R.S.A. 1889; GIFA 1890, S.N. Edin. 1908; Newcastle, 1908; Glasgow Memorial	Sir F. C. Gardiner, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	The Ropewalk	62.8 x 49.5 cm; pastel on brown paper of a young woman pulling a rope through an interior space, [fig.43]	1888	RGI Autumn 1889; NEAC 1889; Munich 1890; Glasgow Int. 1901; Newcastle, 1908; RSA 1919; GAC 1926; Glasgow Memorial	Sir F. C. Gardiner, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.233; Private Collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Study	43.2 x 36.8cm; possibly a study of the girl in *The Ropewalk, [fig.55]*	1888	R.G.I. 1889; NEAC 1890; Munich 1890	W. G. Gardiner, Stirling; Recorded in Caw, p.233; Aigantighe Art Gallery, New Zealand
James Guthrie	Rope Spinning	Interior with girl seated at a spinning wheel	1888	R.S.A. 1889	Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	In the Rope Walk	30.5 x 24.5cm; woman standing; out-of-doors	1888	R.G.I. 1890	Mrs J. G. Gardiner, Brechin; Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Winter	pastel; image of a town by a river, covered in snow, [fig.31]	1888	R.G.I. 1890	Recorded in Caw, p.233; Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow
James Guthrie	Harvesting (Women working in a field)	31.7 x 29.2 cm; image of a gang of female labourers harvesting a crop, [fig.10]	1888	R.S.A. 1889; R.G.I. (Autumn) 1889	George C. Porteous, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.233; National Gallery of Scotland,
James Guthrie	Pasture Land	22.9 x 29.2 cm; image of two cows grazing, shaded by a tree, [fig.25]	1888	NEAC 1890?	Wm McInnes, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.233; Kelvingrove Art Gallery Glasgow
James Guthrie	The Tower Orchard	24.1 x 28 cm	1888	R.S.A. 1889; R.G.I. 1890-1	Lockett Thomson, London; Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Stirling		1888	R.G.I. (Autumn) 1889	Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Stirling, Evening	38.1 x 63.5 cm; image of the old town silhouetted against the night sky	1888	R.S.A. 1889; Munich 1890; St. Louis, 1895; RSA Memorial; Glasgow Memorial	Alex Reid and Lefevre, London; Recorded, Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Primevère	Woman in a yellow dress	1888	Grosvenor, 1890	Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Tennis	48.2 x 45.7 cm; full length portrait of Christine White, [fig.58]	1890	Solo show 1891	Miss A. M. Rankine; Recorded in Caw, p.233; private collection
James Guthrie	Candle Light	40.6 x 50.8 cm; image of two women giving a musical concert, [fig.80]	1890	Solo show 1891	Miss A. M. Rankine; Recorded in Caw, p.233; private collection
James Guthrie	Bas-Relief	53.3 x 43.2 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Mrs J. G. Gardiner, Brechin; Recorded in Caw, p.233; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Jenny	75 x 54.6 cm; image of a young girl in a green dress with a pink ribbon in her hair	1890	Solo show 1891; New Society 1892	Miss Hay, Christchurch, NZ; Recorded in Caw, p.234; private collection
James Guthrie	The Fan	62 x 63.5 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; New Society 1893; G.A.C. 1893; Pastel Society 1899 (lent by T. N. Whitelaw)	T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Firelight (Firelight Reflections)	pastel image of two women, one in an easy chair, the other looking into the fire, [fig.46]	1890	Grosvesnor 1890; Solo show 1891; G.A.C. 1893	Recorded in Caw, p.234; Paisley Art Gallery, Paisley

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	The Red Cloak	50 x 30 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Sold at Knorr's, Munich; Recorded in Caw, p.234; Possibly sold at Christie's in Glasgow, 1992, Lot 824; private collection
James Guthrie	The Window Seat	75 x 55.2cm; image of a woman sewing, silhouetted against a window with a yellow blind	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A 1893; R.S.A. Memorial; Glasgow Memorial	Sir John Bell, Bt., Montgrennan; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabout unknown
James Guthrie	Causerie	50.8 x 55.8 cm; image of two women having tea at a large table, [fig.45]	1890	Solo show 1891; New Society 1892; R.S.A. Memorial; Glasgow Memorial	Richard Gibson, Whitecraigs; Recorded Caw, p.234; Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow
James Guthrie	The Morning Paper	51.4 x 61.9 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A Memorial	Captain J. M. S. Steuart, Strathtay; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts
James Guthrie	Tea	70.8 x 54.6 cm; image of a woman wearing a large black hat with a white bow and green scarf	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A 1891-2: New Society 1892; Glas Int 1901; R.S.A. 1921	W.G. Gardiner, Stirling; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Study: Head	31.7 x 26.7 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; Munich 1891 (lent by A. C. Whyte)	Alexander Hill, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Study	59.7 x 39.4 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A. 1893; Dundee 1910; Arbroath, 1911; R.S.A. 1919	Mrs George Elmslie Troup, Edinburgh; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	On the Ivanhoe	pastel image of a group of passengers on board the deck of a ship, 31.8 x 27.2 cm, [fig.49]	1890	Solo show 1891	Recorded in Caw, p.234; National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh
James Guthrie	A New Embankment	37.5 x 43.2 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A. 1921	W. G. Gardiner, Stirling; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Railway Making at Whistlefield		1890	Solo show 1891	Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	A Railway Cutting	38.1 x 29.2cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Bought by Andrew Bain; Dr Arthur D. Downes, Helensburgh; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unkown
James Guthrie	Building the West Highland Railway (possibly Navvy)	28.6 x 36.8 cm; image of a man cutting sleepers or large planks of wood, [fig.35]	1890	Solo show 1891	E. Hay, Pigeon Bay, N.Z.; Recorded in Caw, p.234; Aigantighe Art Gallery, New Zealand
James Guthrie	Railway Sheds	24.8 x 37.5cm	1890	Munich, 1891	T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Workers on the Shore, Helensburgh	44.1 x 44.8 cm; image of two men shovelling sand into a cart	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A. 1891-2; New Society 1892; St Louis 1895; Glas Int. 1901; Whitechapel, 1901; Edinburgh 1908; R.S.A. 1919; Glasgow Memorial	Sir F. C. Gardiner, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Esplanade, Sundown	48.2 x 40.6 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A. 1891-2; New Society 1892; Glas Int 1901	Sir Hugh Smiley, Goring Heath; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Foreshore, Helensburgh	27.9 x 26.7 cm; image of the Helensburgh esplanade	1890	Solo show 1891	Miss Hay, Christchurch, NZ; Recorded in Caw, p.234; Sold Sotheby's, London, 1991, Lot 341; Private Collection
James Guthrie	Street in Helensburgh	30.5 x 22.9 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; Munich 1891	Miss Hay, Christchurch, NZ; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Luss Road	24.4 x 29.8 cm; image of a man on a bicycle riding down a white, dusty road,	1890	Solo show 1891	Sir William Burrell; Recorded in Caw, p.234; Burrell Collection, Glasgow
James Guthrie	Luss Road	25.4 x 30.5 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Archibald Stewart, Helensburgh; Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Ardmore		1890	Solo show 1891	Recorded in Caw, p.234; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Cardross Road	20.1 x 26 cm; image of a road lined with autumnal trees	1890	Solo show 1891	Sir James and Lady Caw, Edinburgh; Recorded in Caw, p.234; Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow
James Guthrie	Colgrain Farm	21.6 x 30.5 cm; portrait view of some farm buildings with fields in the background	1890	Solo show 1891	Mrs Murray Purvis, Helensburgh; Recorded in Caw, p.235; Sold Christie's, Glasgow, 1982; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Bowling Station	30.5 x 25.4 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Bought by Andrew Bain; Dr Arthur D. Downes, Helensburgh' Recorded in Caw, p.235; Sold at Philip's, Edinburgh, 1996, Lot 72; private collection
James Guthrie	Twilight on Cardross Shore	24.1 x 30.5cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Professor J. M. Wordie, Cambridge; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	View on the Clyde	22.2 x 27.3 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; Glasgow Memorial	Lady Gardiner, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	The Lodge Gates - Twilight	24.8 x 33 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A. 1921	W. G. Gardiner, Stirling; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Highlandman's Road, Row	24.1 x 20.3 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	E. Hay, Pigeon Bay, N.Z.; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	The Hill Road	44.5 x 35.6 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Dr Arnold Jones, Prestwick; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Clyde Shipbuilding	20.3 x 26.7 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	E. Hay, Pigeon Bay, N.Z.; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	"The Susannah"	34.3 x 27.9 cm; image of a sailing ship in dock	1890	Solo show 1891; Munich 1891; R.S.A Memorial; Glasgow Memorial	Lent by James Garroway to Munich; Wm McInnes, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.235; Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Smithy	30.5 x 39.4 cm; image inside a blacksmith's, putting shoes on a horse	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A. Memorial; Glasgow Memorial	J. J. Spencer, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.235; Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow
James Guthrie	Plowing	22.9 x 30.5 cm; image of a freshly ploughed field with gulls flying overhead	1890	Solo show 1891; R.S.A Memorial; Glasgow Memorial	J. J. Spencer, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.235; Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow
James Guthrie	Moonlight		1890	Solo show 1891	current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Afterglow	50.8 x 35.6 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; Munich 1891	Bought byMr J. MacGill from Solo show; Mrs W. J. Gibson, Falkirk; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	The Caravan	25.4 x 29.2 cm	1890	Solo show 1891	Miss Hay, Christchurch, NZ; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Mid-day	27.9 x 25.4 cm; image of two grounds keepers sheltering from the mid-day heat, [fig.79]	1890	Solo show 1891; Munich 1891	Lent by Andrew Bain to Munich; Francis A. Downes, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.235; Kelvingrove Art Gallery
James Guthrie	Stormy Twilight	20.3 x 17.8 cm	1890	Solo show 1891; Munich 1891	Lent by Andrew Bain to Munich; Francis A. Downes, Glasgow; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Late Sunset	19.7 x 17.8 cm	1890		T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
James Guthrie	Tennis (2)	60.9 x 45.7 cm; close up image of a woman holding a tennis racket	1892		Mrs George Burrell, Paisley; Recorded in Caw, p.235; private collection
James Guthrie	Autumn Sunlight		1894	R.S.A. 1894	Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Portrait of Miss Helen Whitelaw	66 x 49.5 cm			T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Summertime	40 x 32.4 cm	1893	Society of Scottish Artists 1909; Glasgow 1911	T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	Oil Tankers, Curaçao	23.5 x 13.9 cm	1927		T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
James Guthrie	The Careenage, Bridgetown, Barbados	23.5 x 13.9 cm	1927		T.W.B. Guthrie, Rowmore; Recorded in Caw, p.235; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Twilight	"Pastel"	1881		Given to J. Heseltine; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.12; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Bridge at Gretz	"Pastel"	1881		Given to L. Lhermitte; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.12; current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	"First fall of Snow"	"Pastel, winter Ravenglass, Scarfell from Sandhills"	1882		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.17; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Portrait of C.M.S at the Piano	24.1 x 31.7cm; pastel of Stott's wife playing the piano	1883-4	Manchester 1902	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.20; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.72; Private Collection
William Stott	Portrait of C.M.S in black dress in easy chair (Resting)	57 x 43.2 cm; pastel of Stott's wife sitting in a high-backed chair, [fig.21]	1883-4		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.20; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.69; Manchester Art Gallery
William Stott	Portrait of C.M.S. reading by gaslight	pastel of Stott's wife sitting at a table, reading a book, [fig.44]	1883-4	Manchester 1902 (lent); Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by Mrs William Stott	Given to J. R. Stott; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.20; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.70; Private Collection
William Stott	Portrait of Mrs A. L. Stott	"Pastel"	1883-4		Given to Mrs A. L. Stott; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.20; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	24.4 x 54.6cm; Auprès du Foyer (By the Fireside)	pastel of Stott's wife reclining in a seat beside the fire, [fig.61]	1884	SBA 1885-6; Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.248; London Mem 1901 (lent); Manchester 1902 (lent)	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.21; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.73; Private Collection
William Stott	Moon veiled in Cloud	"Pastel"	1884-5		Given to Gérôme (maître) in Paris 1885; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.21; current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Waning Moon	24.1 x 31.7 cm; pastel of the moon over a coastal headland	1884-5		Bought by Mr Allan McLean in 1887, Glasgow, £30.0.0; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.21; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.125; private collection
William Stott	Silvery Day	"pastel"	1884-5	SBA 1887; Goupil 1896; London Mem 1901 (Lent); Manchester £20 (J W Ross)	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.21; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Starry Night	"pastel"	1884-5	SBA 1887; Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.144	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.21; Current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Black Coombe from Shore	"pastel"	1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; possibly retitled - see other seascape themes
William Stott	Shore	"pale green sky and sea"	1884	Manchester 1902 £20	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; possibly retitled - see other seascape themes
William Stott	Tide Rising	"grey sky, green sea with big waves"	1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; possibly retitled - see other seascape themes
William Stott	Blue Sea	"pools, stump of 'Ada' - sunny"	1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; possibly retitled - see other seascape themes

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Untitled	"sunny sky, emerald sea, small waves"	1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; possibly retitled - see other seascape themes
William Stott	Moon rising over hills		1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Full moon	"Yellow, by lamplight"	1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Cornfield		1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; possibly retitled - see other cornfield themes
William Stott	Sky without landscape	"white, mares tail clouds and moon"	1884		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.23; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Pastel of Jean Lhermitte at Mount St Père		May 1885		Given to Madame Lhermitte; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.24; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	First Draught of "Summer's Day"	25.4 x 33 cm; pastel of the three figures and pool of water in A Summer's Day	1885		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.25; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.96; Manchester Art Gallery
William Stott	Beatrice	81.3 x 38.1cm; pastel of a young girl in a purple dress	1885	London Mem 1901, (lent); Manchester 1902, (lent)	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.75; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Draught of Nymph with Roses	20.9 x 31.7 cm; pastel of a female nude lying on a bed of foliage	1885		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.26; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.96; private collection
William Stott	Summer Moonlight	"Pearl coloured moonlight, two boats"; 23.5 x 31.7 cm, [fig.23]	1885	SBA 1887; Grosvenor 1888 cat.no.143; Goupil 1896	Bought by Mr Wm Hy. Lindley, Huddersfield in 1896; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.26; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.126; private collection
William Stott	The Old Sycamore	24.1 x 32.4cm; pastel of a forrest	1885	Goupil, 1896; London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £20	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.118; Gallery Oldham
William Stott	Cloud Study	"large, blue sky, white cumuli clouds"	1885		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.26; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Summer Sky (Pastoral)	"pearl clouds, green field, few sheep, large"	1885	SBA 1886-7; Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.177, lent by H. S. Theobald	Sold by Dowdeswells, Aug 1887, £40.0.0; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.26; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	First Draught of "Venus born of Sea"	"pastel"	1885		Destroyed; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.26
William Stott	Autumn Sky (Ciel d'octobre)	"pastel"	1885	Manchester 1902	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.26; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Souvenir de Plage	"long sketch of sand, sun reflected on distant sea"	1885	SBA 1887	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.27; possibly retitled - see other seascape themes

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Sandpools	"distant pools and St Bee's Head"; 24.1 x 31.7cm, [fig.32]	1885	SBA 1886; Grosvenor 1890 cat.no.83; London Mem1901; Manchester 1902, £20; Manchester Art Club 1902 lent by S. T. Stott, Wilmslow	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.27; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.78; Sold at Sotheby's, 2004, Lot 426; Private Collection
William Stott	Sand (possibly Returning Tide)	"blue sea and one big pool"; 24.1 x 31.7cm	1885		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.27; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.80; Private Collection
William Stott	Sky between Showers	"pastel"	1885		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.27; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	3 x pastel studies of boys	studies for "A Summer's Day"; 52.7 x 76.8 cm and 23.5 x 31.1cm	1886		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.28; 2 x recorded in Brown, 2003, p.95; private collections
William Stott	The Mill Stream	24.1 x 31.7 cm; shallow stream with marsh land and trees	1886	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £18	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.116; private collection
William Stott	White Rhododendrons	45.7 x 53.3 cm; large pastel study of white rhododendrons, [fig.53]	1886	Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.147; London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902 £30; Manchester Art Club 1902, £18	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.29; Sold at Sotheby's, Lot 243; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.92; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	"Maud" in a Rocking Chair (Interior)	pastel; image of a red-haired woman in a black dress sitting by a window, [fig.59]	1886		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.30; Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow
William Stott	First Draught of "Endymion"	"pastel"	1887		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.32; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	First Draught of "Diana"	"pastel"	1887		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.32; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	First Draught of "Idlers"	"pastel"	1887		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.32; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Purple Mountain		1887	Grosvenor 1888, cat.no.157	Sold by Dowdeswells, June 1888, £50.0.0; Recorded in Stott MS, 1896, p.32; Sold Sotheby's 1985, Lot 415; private collection
William Stott	Blue River	"pastel"	1887	SBA 1888	Bought by Mr Schaffner, 1889, £60, 1,500 francs; Recorded in Stott MS, 1896, p.32; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Sandhill	41.9 x 50.8cm; largely sky with sand dune to the left	1887	Grosvenor 1888, cat.149; Goupil 1896	Bought by Mr Tom Taylor, architect, Oldham; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.32; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.78; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Glaciers	"pastel"	1888		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.37; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Yellow Rock	"Eismeer"	1888		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.37; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Ice River	"Eismeer, mist rising"; 22.8 x 31.1cm	1888		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.37; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.107; The Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester
William Stott	Snow Cloud	"Eismeer, avalanche, white mountain, no sky"	1888		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.37; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Morning Alps (mountain peak by moonlight)	45.1 x 52.4 cm; mountains, snow field and dawn moonlight	1888	Grosvenor 1889, cat.no73	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.37; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.104; private collection
William Stott	White Torrent	"Lütschine"; 24.1 x 31.7 cm; water rushing past large boulders	1888	Goupil 1896; London Mem 1901; Manchester, 1902, £20, (T. Taylor)	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.37; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.90; private collection
William Stott	Schwarzer Wasserfall	"Lütschine"; 24.1 x 30.8 cm; water rushing past one large boulder and rocks	1888	Goupil 1896; London 1901; Manchester, 1902, £20; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by J. R. Stott, Ashton-under-Lyne	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.38; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.91; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	The Eiger	"Moonlight", [fig.65]	1888	Grosvenor 1889, cat.no.120; London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902 (lent); Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by A. McLean, Glasgow	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.38; Kelvingrove Art Gallery
William Stott	Fischerhorn	24.7 x 32.4 cm; "Eismeer and mountain, (lilac)", [fig.34]	1888	Grosvenor 1890, cat.no.42	Sold A. McLean; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.38; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.102; National Gallery of Scotland
William Stott	White Mountain	"yellow clouds, large pastel"	1888	Grosvenor 1889, cat.no.125	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.38; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Jungfrau (An Alpine Peak)	45.7 x 52.7cm; "Wengern Alps"	1888	Grosvenor 1889, cat.no.113; Manchester 1902, £25	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.39; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.101; private collection
William Stott	Turquoise Glacier (sapphire glacier)	44.4 x 52.1 cm; close up study of glacier and mist	1888	Grosvenor 1890, cat.no.39; Manchester, 1902, £20; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by T. Gough, Macclesfield	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.39; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.107; Atkinson Art Gallery, Southport

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Upper Glacier	"pastel"	1888	Manchester 1902, £25; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by J. C. Waterhouse, Prestbury	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.39; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Blue Glacier	"Pink cloud, large"	1888		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.39; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	White Glacier	"pastel"	1888		Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.39; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Serpent Glacier	"blue and yellow"	1888	Manchester 1902, £25	Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.39; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Amethyst Cloud	"large pastel"	1888		Given to Hall Caine; Recorded in Stott, MS, 1896, p.40; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Sparklets	24.1 x 31.7 cm; water rushing over rocks	1888		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.90; private collection
William Stott	The Little Bay	possibly a nocturne	c1889	Grosvenor 1889, cat.no.117	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Madame Nevada as "Lackmé"		c1889	Grosvenor 1889, cat.no.94	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	A Freshet	pastel; close-up image of a rushing stream, [fig.70]	1888-9	Grosvenor 1890, cat.no.58; Goupil 1896; Manchester 1902, £70, (Oldham)	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.89; Gallery Oldham

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Autumn Woodland	44.4 x 52.1 cm; trees and a stream	1889		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.116; private collection
William Stott	Prince or Beggar?	possibly a pastel of his 1882 painting Prince ou Berger?	c1890	Grosvenor 1890, cat.no.147	
William Stott	Millie Dow Stott	pastel of young boy, [fig.78]	1890	Grosvenor 1890, cat.no.101; Goupil 1896; London Mem 1901 (lent); Manchester 1902 (lent)	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.72; current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Arran	24.1 x 31.7cm; seascape drawn from a boat	1893		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.86; private collection
William Stott	Seascape with Distant Mountains	23.5 x 31.1 cm; seascape with land ahead	1893		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.86; private collection
William Stott	Choppy Sea	23.5 x 31.1cm; largely sea with a thin strip of sky with one sailing ship	1896	London Mem 1901; Manchester, 1902, £25; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by J. C. Waterhouse, Prestbury	Gifted to the artist John Macallan Swan; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.82; Sold Bonhams, 2016, Lot 95; private collection
William Stott	Seagulls Astern	23.5 x 31.7cm; half sky, half sea study with a seagull	1896		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.83; private collection
William Stott	Sunlit Wave	24.1 x 31.7cm; green and blue sea with large crashing breaker	1896		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.84; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	S. S. Umbria	31.7 x 38.1cm; image of passengers on the deck of a ship, [fig.85]	1899	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £20 (Harold Stott, Nephew)	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.85; private collection
William Stott	Wake of a Ship	24.1 x 31.7cm; seascape with wake in the water, [fig.86]	1896	Manchester 1902, £50	Sold at Christie's 1986, Lot 131; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.85; private collection
William Stott	Below Gravesend	24.1 x 31.7 cm; seascape or estuary with boats	1897	Goupil 1896	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.88; private collection
William Stott	Breaking Wave	24.7 x 33 cm; blue and black wave with land in the backbround	1893	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.88; Bristol Art Gallery
William Stott	Tristram's Farewell	63.5 x 47 cm; man and woman breaking embrace in a fortress by the sea	1898		Sold at Sotheby's, 1982, Lot 80; Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.114; private collection
William Stott	Woodland Scene, Brantrake	24.1 x 32.4 cm; trees and ferns	1895	London Mem 1901; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by R. A. Thomson, Wellingboro'	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.117; Gallery Oldham
William Stott	Corn at Hall Carleton	24.1 x 31.7 cm; cornfield with hedgerow	1895	Manchester 1902, £15	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.121; private collection
William Stott	Barrow Farm	24.1 x 31.7 cm; green fields and red brick house	1895		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.121; private collection

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Wheat Sheaves	23.5 x 31.1 cm; close up of corn or wheat stacks	1895	possibly London Mem 1901 Manchester 1902, £15 and Manchester Art Club 1902 as 'Stacked Corn'	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.122; private collection
William Stott	The Cornfield	23.5 x 31.1 cm; cornfield	1895		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.123; Gallery Oldham
William Stott	Stacked Corn	24.1 x 31.7 cm; cornfield with stack in top right	1895		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.124; Private Collection
William Stott	Sand-dunes	24.1 x 31.7cm; sand at low tide	1884		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.79; private collection
William Stott	A Seascape	24.1 x 31.7cm; two thirds sea and sky, one third sand	1884		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.81; Gallery Oldham
William Stott	Sparkling Sea	24.1 x 31.7cm; drawn from sand dunes, mainly sand, [fig.87]	1884		Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.81; private collection
William Stott	Apple Tree in Blossom	44.5 x 52.5cm	undated	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £15	Sold Sotheby's 2013, Lot 38; private collection
William Stott	North Breeze	22.8 x 30.8 cm; seascape with small yachts and seagulls	1895	Goupil 1896; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by Warwick Brookes, Manchester	Recorded in Brown, 2003, p.85; Gallery Oldham
William Stott	Soft Winds	possibly one of the later seascape studies		Goupil 1896	current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Off the port bow			Goupil 1896	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Grey Sea	possibly one of the early seascape studies	unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £40; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by A.E. Leaf, Bowdon	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	English Coast	possibly one of the early seascape studies	unknown	Manchester 1902, £18; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by S. T. Stott, Wilmslow	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Mid-channel	possibly one of the later seascape studies	unknown	London Mem, 1901; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by Mrs William Stott	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Summer Pasturage		unknown	Manchester 1902; Manchester Art Club 1902, lent by George Towers, London	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	A Sandy Beach	possibly one of the early seascape studies	unknown	Manchester 1902, £15; Manchester Art Club, 1902, lent by Harold Stott, Wilmslow	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Santon Bridge		unknown	Manchester, 1902 (Lent); Manchester Art Club 1902, £18	current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	Old Orchard		unknown	Manchester Art Club 1902, £35	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Early Summer		unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £20	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	The Clyde from Troon		unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £18	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Barn at Gasgarth		unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £18	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Linn Beck		unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £18	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	The Irish-Channel	Possibly from later seascapes	unknown	London Mem, 1901; Manchester 1902, £25	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Hazel Wood		unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £35	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Apple Tree		unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester, 1902, £30	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	A Fresh Breeze	Possibly from the early seascapes	unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester, 1902, £25	current whereabouts unknown

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Name	Title	Description	Date	Exhibition	Provenance Notes
William Stott	On the shore	Possibly from the early seascapes	unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £20 (Robert Stott)	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	A Note at Sea	Possibly from the later seascapes	unknown	London Mem 1901; Manchester 1902, £25	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Low Tide	Possibly from the early seascapes	unknown	Goupil, 1896; Manchester 1902, £20	current whereabouts unknown
William Stott	Meadow by the Sea	Possibly from the early seascapes	unknown	Goupil, 1896, Manchester 1902, £20	current whereabouts unknown